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THE CULTURAL HERITAGE
OF
MADHYA BHARAT

BY.

D. R. PATIL, M. A., LL. B., PH. D.

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P R E F A C E

In this small book on the Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat I have attempted to present the various aspects of the age-old culture of the territory now comprising of Madhya Bharat mainly as they are reflected in her numerous and varied ancient monuments. A companion volume containing the list of monuments in the State, classified and pithily described, is also published side by side since it forms the main source of information for this work. How I have succeeded in utilizing this source it is for my discerning readers to judge.

This work was projected long ago but the happy augury of the meeting of eminent historians on the occasion of this year's session of the Indian History Congress at this historic city of Gwalior, gave me the real impetus to get the work through. I have, however, not treated the various topics covered in this book exhaustively and critically, as the historians would like to have it, for the main aim underlying it was to prepare a sort of general handbook on the subject for the information of the scholars and the general public alike.

I have derived considerable help for the writing of this work from Dr. Miss Mukerjee of Kamala Raja Girls' College for chapters II and IV and from Prof. Kaul of the Victoria College for the first chapter on the formation of Madhya Bharat. The section on Industrial Arts and Crafts in chapter V was practically written out by Mr. Yudhisthir Bhargava, I. A. S., the Secretary, Industries and Commerce Department of Madhya Bharat

Government, himself. To Mr. Gupta of the office of the Census Commissioner, I am indebted for the statistical information supplied by him which is utilized in chapter III. In the part II of this book I have substantially drawn from "Archaeology in Gwalior" by Mr. M. B. Garde, my predecessor, especially in connection with the descriptive matter on places like Padhavall, Ranod, Mahua, Terahi, Udaypur, Bhilsa, Gyaraspur, Badoh-Pathari, Mandasaur, Khor and partly Narwar also. I must also acknowledge my gratefulness to Dr. Bool Chand, I. A. S., the Education Secretary, Madhya Bharat Government and Chairman of the Reception Committee for this session of the Indian History Congress, for his encouraging support in the course of this work.

The fact that the typescript was made over in the first week of December and the work was ready in three weeks goes a great deal to the credit of the Government Central Press, Gwalior. My thanks are, therefore, specially due to Messers G. C. Natarajan and M. N. Joshi the Manager and Assistant Manager respectively of the Press who had throughout taken keen interest in getting the work through in time.

D. R. PATIL.

Gwalior, 28th December, 1952

CONTENTS

PART I.

	PAGES.
I. How Madhya Bharat was formed ..	1-3
II. The Geographical Setting of Madhya Bharat ..	4-7
III. Peoples and Languages of Madhya Bharat ..	8-12
IV. Historical Pre-View of Madhya Bharat ..	13-31
V. Arts and Architecture.—	32-52
(a) Architecture	32-38
(b) Arts of Sculpture and Painting	38-44
(c) Music	44-48
(d) Industrial Arts and Crafts	48-52
VI. The Archaeological Monuments of Madhya Bharat.	53-69

PART II.

Brief Directory of Important Places of Archaeological Interest in Madhya Bharat.

(A) The Northern Madhya Bharat:—

1. Gwalior	73-78
2. Naresar	79-80
3. Pawaya	80-82
4. Ater	82-84
5. Suhania	84-85
6. Padhavli—Mitaoli	85-87
7. Narwar	87-89
8. Surwaya	89-91
9. Kadwaha	91
10. Ranod	92-93

			PAGES.
11. Terahi .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 98
12. Mahua .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 94
13. Chanderi .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 94-97
(B) The North-Eastern Malwa Plateau—			
1. Bhilsa .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 98-99
2. Besnagar .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 99-100
3. Udaygiri .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 100-101
4. Udaypur .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 101-105
5. Gyaraspur .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 106-108
6. Badoh—Pathari .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 108-111
(C) The Malwa Plateau—			
1. Ujjain .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 112-115
2. Dhar .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 115-116
3. Mandu .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 117-121
(D) The North-Western Malwa Plateau—			
1. Mandsor .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 122-123
2. Khor .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 123-124
3. Dhamnar .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 124-125
(E) The Narmada Valley or Nimar Plain—			
1. Bagh .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 126-131
2. Maheshwar .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 131-132
3. Un .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 132-134
4. Nemawar .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 134-135
Appendix .. ..	.. ..	..	.. 137

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF M. B.

Illustrations

1. Gwalior Fort, Partial View.
 2. Larger Sas Bahu Temple, Gwalior Fort.
 3. Kakan Madh Temple, Suhania.
 4. A Temple in Gadbi, Padhavli.
 5. An excavated Brick Platform, Pawaya.
 6. A lintel showing scene of dance from Pawaya.
 7. Carved Ceiling of a Temple, Surwana.
 8. Mahadeva Temple, Kadwaha.
 9. A Torana Gateway, Terahi.
 10. A Carved Mihrab of a Muslim Tomb, Chanderi.
 11. Caves Nos. 5 and 6, General View, Udaygiri.
 12. Heliodorus Pillar (Khamb-Baba), Besnagar.
 13. Hindola Torana Gateway, Gyaraspur.
 14. Atha-Khamba, Gyaraspur.
 15. Ruins of Torana of Gadarmal Temple, Badoh.
 16. A Monolithic Pillar, Pathari.
 17. Nilkanthesvar Temple, Udaypur.
 18. Mahakal Temple, Ujjain.
 19. Bhoja Shala, Dhar.
 20. Jahaz Mahal, Mandu.
 21. Jama Masjid, Mandu.
 22. Interior Frieze, Cave No. 4, Bagh.
 23. Two Bodhisattvas, Cave No. 4, (a Painting), Bagh.
 24. Mahadeva Temple, Jamli.
 25. Siddheshwar Temple, Nemawar.
 26. Chhatri of Shri Ahilyabai Holkar, Maheshwar.
 27. A Torana Pillar, Mandsaur.
 28. An Archaeological Map of Madhya Bharat.
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CHAPTER I

HOW MADHYA BHARAT WAS FORMED

With the formal declaration of independence on the 15th August, 1947, the paramount power of the British in India *vis-a-vis* the States ceased to exist automatically. The relations of these States, numbering over 500, to the Government of India, politically and constitutionally, were, therefore, a problem, of the greatest consequence not only for the stability of hard-worn independence but also for the continued progress and well-being of the whole country. The problem had become more complicated and difficult since some of these States, like Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior, etc., were large enough to be considered as viable units while quite a large number of them were so small that they could hardly be considered as self-contained administrative units. Even under the paramountcy of the British, attempts were made to group them suitably but the manner in which these States were later welded together into sizeable groups or unions of States, goes a great deal to reflect on the political sagacity of the late Sardar Patel who was mainly responsible for this momentous achievement.

Madhya Bharat was the Sardar's first successful experiment. The Union here was of 22 States of which Gwalior was the largest covering more than one half of its area and population. The second major state was that of Indore while amongst the other 20 minor States, Dhar may be said to be largest. Historically the existence of most of these important States may be traced to the conquest of the whole territory by the Marathas of the

Deccan in the 18th century. The confederate chiefs of the Marathas, such as the Scindias, Holkars and the Pawars had carved out principalities for themselves north of the Vindhya range under the central control of the Peshwas of Poona on the decline of the Mughal Empire of Delhi. With the final emergence of British as the only paramount power in India in the early 19th century and with the fall of the Peshwas the confederacy came to an end and the Maratha Chiefs were now obliged to pay homage to the new sovereign power of India. The States of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar and Dewas (Sr. and Jr.) were therefore ruled by the Maratha Princes, while the other smaller States such as Barwani, Rajgadh, Narsingarh, etc., were headed by the local Rajput Chiefs excepting a few, such as Kurwai and Jaora, ruled by Muslim Chiefs.

There had been a number of strenuous negotiations behind the formation of the union in which the princes and the peoples' representatives alike exhibited a commendable spirit of sacrifice and responsibility for the common good of the country. After considering all the alternate schemes it was finally agreed upon under the astute and able guidance of the late Sardar that a separate Union of these 22 States be formed to make it a sizeable province. On April 22, 1948, the rulers of the 22 States signed a covenant which ushered into being the "United State of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa" which was included later on, in the constitution of the Indian Republic under the very appropriate name of Madhya Bharat. The rulers of Gwalior and Indore were elected as the Rajpramukh and Up-Rajpramukh for life and the rulers of Dhar and Khilchipur as Junior Up-Rajpramukhs respectively. The formal inauguration took place on May 28, in the historic Jai Vilas Palace of Gwalior at the hands of the Hon'ble Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. On June 16, the rulers of Gwalior and Indore formally handed over to the Rajpramukh the administration of their respective States. Other States followed in due course of time and the process of transfer was completed by September, 1948.*

The present State of Madhya Bharat covers an area of 46,785 sq. miles with a population of 79,50,494. Of this the two major States of Gwalior and Indore covered an area of 26,387 and

*For details regarding, these 22 States please see Appendix A.

9,934 sq. miles respectively with a population of more than 55 lakhs. The major portion of the north formed part of the old Gwalior State which had a considerable area in the south also, while the territory of Indore State was concentrated in the south. From the point of view of the convenience of administration the States of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat exchanged the villages lying in the enclaves of the other's territory. This has resulted in more compact territory for both but the enclave of Sironj, still remains with Rajasthan. Madhya Bharat is surrounded by the U. P., Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal on the east, by Madhya Pradesh on the south, Bombay on the south-west and Rajasthan on the west and north.

Under the recent award of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gwalior is the capital of Madhya Bharat for 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ months from September to April while Indore is the summer Capital for 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 months from April to September every year.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF MADHYA BHARAT

As its name signifies, the state of Madhya Bharat occupies a central position in relation to the whole country. It consists of an elongated stretch of land disposed towards north-east and south-west bounded in the north and north-west by the river Chambal and demarcated in the south by the Satpura ranges. At the centre the stretch is much narrowed down by the protruding territories of Rajasthan and Bhopal leaving the districts of Mandsor and Bhilsa projecting in isolation towards the north-west and east respectively. A narrow strip hangs down from its north-eastern end into the territories of the adjoining Vindhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. A considerable portion of north and north-east follows the course of the river Betwa while the south is watered by the sacred Narmada. The physical face or features of this land is therefore characterised by the three river systems of the Chambal, Betwa and the Narmada and by the mountain systems of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras which have naturally made themselves felt throughout the various courses of her history and culture.

These physical features have made five natural divisions of the State as follows :—

(i) *The Northern Madhya Bharat*—(Gwalior, Morena, Bhind, Shivapuri and Guna districts): Most of it is hilly and mountainous due to the northern offshoots of the Vindhyas encroaching upon it but leaving a small flat low-lying tip at the north for the

rivers to meet and join ultimately to the great river system of the Gangetic plain.

In history, these physical aspects are very well reflected in the numerous forts and fortresses such as of Gwalior, Narwar, Chanderi and others and in the numerous stone-built temples, materials for which were available ready at hand from the sandstone of the rocky hills. They have also told on the war-like bearing of the inhabitants who have throughout history presented a problem to conquerors and rulers alike.

In the ancient geographical nomenclature this region may be said to have formed part of the country of the Shurasenas or the Vatsa and, maybe of the Matsyadesha also, since there are a number of local legends connecting places herein with the story of the Pandavas *in cognito* and of the attempt on their lives by burning them alive in a house of *lac*. The country about Narwar or Nalapura is still believed to be the land of Nishadha where the Epic king Nala ruled, while the region of Chanderi is said to have formed part of the Chedi kingdom of Shishupala the haughty rival of lord Krishna. Gwalior, Narwar and Chanderi had throughout been the key-points of its history right up to the last century.

In late historical times it had been divided into the various *ghars* or houses, i. e. the spheres of influence of the various Rajput clans such as the Tomaras, Bhadorias, Sikarwars, Kacchavahas, Khichi Chauhans, Bundelas, and the Jadhos even now reflected in the local names of Tonwarghar, Bhadarwar, Sikarwar, Kacchavaghār, Khichiwada, etc.

(ii) *North-Eastern plateau*—(Bhilsa district falling in line with the Bhopal territory): This is a narrow out-stretch of the great central plateau of Malwa made distinctive by the wooded ranges of the Vindhya encircling it from east, north and south.

In ancient economy this tract had always had a significance of its own. With the fertile plateau of Malwa proper easily accessible towards the west and with its proximity to the fertile Gangetic plains of the east, the region about Bhilsa was always prosperous and flourishing a fact which is amply reflected in the richness of its monuments second to none in the whole of Madhya Bharat.

In ancient geography it was called as Dasharna known as such from the days of the Buddha to those of Kalidasa in about the 5th century A. D. The name still lives in the modern name of a stream called Dashan which, rising in the Bhopal territory and flowing through Bundelkhand, empties into the river Betwa. In late historical times it came to be known as part of the Gondwada ruled by the semi-civilized tribe of the Gonds. The ancient Vidisha and its later representative Bhilsa had always been the focal point of this region.

(iii) *The Central Malwa Plateau*—(Rajgadh, Shajapur, Dewas, Ujjain, Indore, Ratlam and Dhar districts): With an average height of 1500-1700 feet above sea level making its climate soothing and temperate for all the seasons of the year, it is one of the most fertile tracts in India and had thus throughout history been regarded a prized possession by all the political powers of the northern India and the Deccan.

It has therefore witnessed numerous political changes leaving the populace meek and subdued in character and temperament. The fertile character of its black cotton soil could encourage little of activity in the art of building temples and other grand structures in stone, except in its mountainous tip of the Mandu hill at the south-west.

This plateau was throughout history often called by the name of Avanti derived probably from a name of one of the five sons of the famous Haihaya king Kartivirya Arjuna. Later the tribe of the Malavas who made it their home five or six centuries after the Christian era gave it their name to be perpetuated for ever. The holy city of Ujjain was for all these centuries the pride of this region; for, even now it is known by the name of Avantikapura or the city of Avanti.

(iv) *The North-Western plateau*—(Mandsor and part of Ratlam district): As it projects into the country of the warlike Rajputs full with hills and sandy tracts it presents some aspects in common with the adjoining areas of the former Udaipur State.

Little is known about the ancient geography of this particular region except that in the early centuries of the Christian

era, a republican tribe of the Malavas had migrated and settled here after leaving their original home land in the Punjab where they had once stoutly resisted the invading army of the Greeks under Alexander the Great in the 4th Century B. C. Due to repeated political pressure from the north they were moving southwards via Rajputana and had settled down here. The town of Dashapura was apparently their mainstay.

The physical features of this region differ a little from the main plateau of Malwa in that the tract here is hilly and rugged giving its people the characteristics required of a military profession and affording facilities for erecting edifices in stone still found in ruins in its countryside.

(v) *The Narmada Valley or Nimar*—(Nimar and parts of Dhar, Indore and Dewas districts). This low-lying narrow valley of the great river enclosed by the ranges of the Vindhya and the Satpura to north and south respectively is said to contain hidden some of the earliest remains of civilization in India. It was often called as the Anupadesha though in recent times it has come to be known as the Nimar plain.

The country on both sides of the river is flat and fertile though the climate is not as inviting as that of the plateau in the north. Within its limits on the banks of the river there once stood the famous township of Mahishmati which historically was undoubtedly one of the most ancient cities in India. That town and probably its later representative, the modern Maheshwar, was the place of importance culturally and politically in the whole of this plain right up to late historical times.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF MADHYA BHARAT

Being an integral, and what is more the central, part of India Madhya Bharat presents the same characteristic features with regard to her population and languages as are found in the context of the whole of the country. Even within its limited boundaries the same diversity of racial and linguistic types appears presenting, however, something in common amongst them at the same time.

The total population of the State borders to the figure of 8 million and considering her area of 46,785 square miles and a comparatively fertile and productive soil the density of her population of 170 souls to a square mile of area is much less as compared with similar States in the country. Out of these 80 lakhs hardly eight lakhs that is 10 per cent live in big cities or towns (of Indore, Gwalior, Ujjain, Ratlam and Mhow) the rest of the masses being scattered over the 21,900 villages throughout the State. The largest concentration of population in the State is around the modern city of Indore where the density goes as high as 350 or above souls per square mile. Next to it the fertile and well-irrigated areas near Gwalior in the north-eastern tip, along the rivers Chambal and Sindh, are also much more thickly populated with a density of 300 to 350. The rest of northern portion and the southern and south-western hilly tracts are very sparsely populated, the range of density being here between 100 to 150 only.

Madhya Bharat is therefore still not urban-minded since she claims only three big cities (Indore, Gwalior and Ujjain) with a population more than a lakh. Indore (population 3,10,859) is naturally the premier city of Madhya Bharat representing whatever is to be seen in the modern life of the State vying well with all the best cities of India. In fact, Indore is the only trade emporium of importance in the large tracts of Central India, north of the Vindhya between Orissa and Gujarat. She is the Manchester or Bombay of Madhya Bharat in the field of textile industries. In Gwalior (population 2,41,577) one at once notices how old and new go together in a happy admixture. The city is spread over an area of 10-12 square miles in the three towns of Lashkar, Gwalior and Morar, all having characteristics of their own, with the stately edifices of the royal palaces and other Government buildings situated in their midst. Though hardly recognised now by these 2½ lakhs of souls, it is the great historical fortress towering over and overlooking them which has really made them flock around the hill in the surrounding plains. Ujjain (population 1,29,817) is cherished by Madhya Bharat as an embodiment of her sacred antiquity though the city itself is as modern and trade-minded as Indore, 35 miles away; for the historical forces of destruction had not allowed her the honour of preserving her antique grandeur.

On a religious basis the population of the State is divided amongst 73,33,021 Hindus, 4,96,153 Muslims, 1,00,234 Jains, 12,621 Sikhs and 219 Buddhists. The Hindus form the bulk of 90 per cent, while Muslims count hardly 6 per cent of the total population; but still in the context of recent political events this is an impressive figure crediting the State with the commendable spirit of toleration in the religious field. Culturally they differ but little from their Hindu brethren since most of them are descendants of Hindu converts. They are mostly cultivators, artisans or labourers excepting a rich section of the Bohras who have from historical times concentrated about the city of Ujjain. The Jains though a little more than one per cent have throughout history played proportionately a far more important role in the life of this territory especially in the fields of industries, trade and commerce.

The bulk of Hindu population is divided into a number of groups or classes, the main divisions being (*i*) 13,23,981 Harijans or backward classes, (*ii*) 11,11,716 Adivasis or the scheduled aboriginal tribes, and (*iii*) the rest 48,97,324 being the other classes of Hindus. It will be seen that the State has inherited nearly 30% of her total man-power in a much backward state caused by various historical factors.

The aboriginal tribes are to be found mostly in the hilly tracts of the Vindhya and the Satpuras in the southern and south-western parts of the State. They do not form a common population group since in the matter of their customs, religious practices and racial origins they differ widely from each other. Further, all of them do not belong to the same stages of barbaric or civilized life. The Bhilas, for example, are much like the other Hindus in the ways of their living and profess themselves to be on level of the Rajputs, the higher order of the Hindu society; for historically they derive their origin from the admixture of the Rajputs and the Bhils. The latter make a major portion of the aboriginal population who from times immemorial had been the original inhabitants of these hilly tracts in the State. They do present characteristics of aboriginal tribes in the matter of their social organisation, religious practices and customs such as relating to marriage, disposal of the dead, modes of dress and such other habits of life. On an occupational basis they belong to two groups, *viz* (1) of the cultivator and (2) the hill-man or hunter. Of these the former has taken to the peaceful and settled life of an agriculturist while the latter may be said to belong to a primitive stage of existence. If the Bhils had any dialect of their own in the past it is lost for ever; for the modern Bhils speak a mixed dialect of Gujarati and Malwi with considerable borrowing from the Marathi and with some words from the Munda also. There is no doubt that racially they differ substantially from the Hindus; for the typical Bhil is short-statured, of dark complexion but strong build, broad-nosed and of frill hair. These people from Madhya Bharat have not been studied so far both in regard to their racial and ethnological characteristics and, in view of their fast changing conditions of life, if this is not done in the near

future it is likely we will be losing the available sources of the history of this interesting race.

There are other minor aboriginal tribes such as the Korkus Mundas, Gonds, the Meenas, etc. Of these the Gonds inhabit the eastern tracts of the aboriginal belt of the State and had in late historical times risen to some political importance having carved out small principalities of their own. The region bordering and about Bhilsa and Bhopal was once under their control and was also called as Gond Wada, the land of the Gonds. Like the Bhils and Bhilalas they differ amongst themselves widely in matters of their social and religious life. The Mundas are much fewer in number while the Meenas occupy the north-western hill tracts along the Chambal in Shivapuri District bordering the former State of Jaipur. They also belong to a semi-civilized state of existence like the Bhils in the south.

The Backward classes or Harijans form nearly 19 per cent of the total population of the State. They are variously subdivided into the castes or groups of Chamars, Bhois, Dhimars, etc., and since the last census enumeration did not take place on the basis of caste it is now difficult to assess their relative strength or number. They form the lower orders of the Hindu society now rising to their importance in the context of the democratic set up and of the interest shown in their welfare by the State Government.

The rest of the Hindu population of little less than 49 lakhs is spread over a number of groups or castes. It is not possible to enumerate them castewise in view of the changed nature of last census operations. It may be said on the basis of the earlier figures that the Brahmins number about 7 or 8 per cent subdivided into a number of sub-groups. The Rajputs and Thakurs as they are called belong to various families of Tomars, Bhadorias, Kacchawahas, Jadhos, Shikaras, Khichis, Chandellas, Bundelas, Ponwars, Gehlots, Chauhans, Shisodias, Solankis, etc., who had in historical times played an important role in the political life of Madhya Bharat. They still form the landed gentry or class in the countryside with considerable social importance for themselves. Next to them in importance are the Gujars and Jats and Ahirs in the north who claim themselves to be on level

with the Rajputs and for various historical reasons have also risen to social eminence.

In the matter of languages, or more properly, dialects, the diversity is less pronounced. The whole of Madhya Bharat belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of languages though a few Munda words or words of Dravidian origin may be traced in the flexible dialects of the aboriginal tracts in the south. According to the grouping made in the linguistic survey by Grierson the whole of the State should come under the Inner Sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars falling within its Central Group of Western Hindi and Rajasthani.

The whole of northern Madhya Bharat is included in the sphere of Western Hindi with its respectable dialects of Brij-Bhasha prevalent in northern extremities and Bundeli spoken in the central parts of northern Madhya Bharat. Of these the latter has a good literature to its credit. The last census returns have shown nearly 59 lakhs of the population speaking the Western Hindi indicating that even parts of Malwa proper have now aligned themselves with this group. It will, however, be found that almost the whole of the plateau once used the dialect of Malwi, the southern variety of Rajasthani, though last census returns show a little over five lakhs of people only coming under its influence. The Malwi has no literature to speak of and these figures suggest the growing effect of literacy on the population who are now increasingly adopting the prevailing language of literature, *i. e.* Hindi and discarding their own mother tongue in its favour.

The north-western districts of Mandsor and partly Ratlam come directly in the sphere of Rajasthani with a population of nearly ten lakhs. In the Nimar plain along the Narbada the people speak the dialect called Nimadi showing a clear mixture of Malwi, Marathi and Gujarati. It is spoken by nearly 2 lakhs of souls. As is inevitable the western and southern borders of Madhya Bharat are bilingual, the former admitting considerable influence of Gujarati and the latter of the Marathi of the Deccan tableland

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL PRE-VIEW OF MADHYA BHARAT

According to our ancient historical tradition King Yayati of the 'Lunar race' at the time of his retirement to forest-life assigned the territories watered by the rivers Charmanvati (Chambal) and Shuktimati (Ken), which includes the present territory of the Madhya Bharat, to one of his five sons, *e. g.* Yadu whose line later expanded into two branches of the Yadavas and the Haihayas, the former ruling over the northern portion and the latter over the southern portion of this region. The main line of the Yadavas had a very long history and they expanded in other directions, to the south-west in Saurashtra and Anartta (Gujarat), and to the extreme south in Vidarbha. The Haihayas continued to dominate the political life of the Madhya Bharat though for a time they suffered at the hands of the kings of the "Solar race" of Ayodhya such as Mandhata and Muchukunda, who in the Puranic tradition, is stated to have founded the great city of Mahishmati. But the Haihayas soon reasserted their power and raised their ancestral land to the position of a great kingdom particularly under the greatest of their kings, *e. g.* Kartavirya Arjuna, who after conquering the city of Mahishmati from the Nagas first made it his capital. According to the Puranic tradition he had five sons, of whom Avanti was one, after whom probably the territory was later known. The Haihayas later separated into a number of branches one of which ruled at Vidisha (Bhilsa) which in Central India is next only to Mahishmati in the

point of its high antiquity. On a fair estimate these developments took place probably in the later Vedic period, e. g. up to the 8th century B. C. by which time Madhya Bharat may be said to have come under the influence of the new Aryanism so successfully propagated by the Haihayas.

We do not know how and when exactly the Haihayas retired to obscurity but it is certain that in about 6th century B. C. a powerful dynasty of the Pradyotas was ruling over this territory which was now commonly known as Avanti though parts of it were also variously called as Vinda and Anuvinda or Akara and Dasharna. The greatest king of this line was Chanda Pradyota under whom the city of Ujjaini first rose to prominence later destined to become one of the most sacred cities of India. Chanda Pradyota was a contemporary of the Buddha and in his time Avanti became a powerful and flourishing kingdom as amply testified by the early Buddhist literature. True to his name the power of Chanda Pradyota was much dreaded by the then kings of northern India so much so that king Ajatashatru, says the Buddhist Text Majjhima Nikaya, took special measures to fortify his capital Rajagriha, for fear of an invasion from that quarter. This king ruled for 23 years and had, it appears, become a convert to Buddhism. He was followed by four successors, the last of whom was defeated by the Shaishunagas of Magadha.

There was in this period a brisk trade and incidentally a great cultural movement with the ancient kingdoms of the near east such as Babylonia and Persia carried from the rich kingdoms of the fertile Gangetic plains to the western ports of Bharukaccha (Bhroach) and Surparaka (Sopara) through the great cities of Vidisha, Mahishmati and Ujjaini. With the extinction of the Pradyotas in the next century Avanti lost the honour of an independent kingdom and henceforth became only a part of viceroyalty of the succeeding Magadhan Empires such as of the Shaishungas, Nandas and Mauryas.

Though thus bereft of an independent political existence Avanti continued to progress economically and culturally as before. It was always an important viceroyalty of the Magadhan Empires as can be inferred from the fact that the famous Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka was, whilst a prince, the Viceroy at

Ujjaini. Prince Ashoka had married a daughter of a banker of Vidisha from whom were born prince Mahendra and princess Sanghamitra so famous in the history of early Buddhism.

The services rendered by Ashoka to the cause and spread of Buddhism need hardly be mentioned. He laid the foundations of the great Stupa at Sanchi and raised a huge monolithic pillar close to it with his usual edicts inscribed thereon.

2nd B. C. to 1st Century A. D.

In the 2nd century B. C., Pushyamitra Shunga rose to power in Magadha and arrested for the time being complete disintegration of the tottering empire, which he usurped from the weak successors of Ashoka. Madhya Bharat thus continued to remain within the empire of Magadha. We learn from Kalidasa's literary romance, *Malavikagnimitra* that the crown prince Agnimitra served as a Viceroy at Vidisha during the reign of his father Pushyamitra. That Vidisha was within Shunga dominion is further supported by the Besnagar Pillar inscription of Heliodorus. It is a Garuda pillar set up by him during his stay there. He is mentioned therein as having come as the ambassador of the Indo-Greek King Antialcidas of Taxila to the court of King Bhagabhadra. This Bhagabhadra is generally identified with the fifth Shunga king Bhandaka of the later Shungas who are supposed to have made Vidisha their capital.

It is interesting to find from the inscription that the Greek ambassador had embraced the Bhagavata sect and raised the pillar in honour of the god Vasudeva, an event of much significance to the history of the Bhagavata sect in India. It seems that in the midst of the rapid spread of Buddhism in the country Vidisha was holding out as a centre of the orthodox faith as testified not only by the inscription but by a number of other antiquities found here belonging to the succeeding centuries. In any case it is quite clear that the Vidisha of the Shungas, and of the succeeding dynasties, was a centre of a great cultural and art movement now represented by the surviving monuments in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa and Sanchi which rank high amongst the most remarkable and extensive of the remains to be found in the whole of India.

According to the dynastic lists of the Puranas a branch of the Shungas was ruling at Vidisha even after the overthrow of the main line in Magadha by the Kanvas. Both the Kanvas and the last remnants of the Shungas were in turn vanquished by a rising southern people towards the close of the first century B. C. It is not clear how the territory of Madhya Bharat was disposed towards these political changes. With the ruins or traces of *stupas* found in excavations at Ujjain, Kasrawad and Besnagar it may be said that in the cultural field at least Buddhism was in the ascendancy in so far as the southern parts of Madhya Bharat are concerned.

1st A. D. to 3rd A. D.

Towards the close of the first century B. C., the process of the break of the Magadhan empire was complete. In the period of disruption which ensued, the regions of Madhya Bharat appear to have been split apart between the rising empire of the south and newly set up foreign kingdoms in north and north-west. It has been already mentioned that the last vestiges of Shunga and Kanya rule were swept away by a rising southern power. According to a passage in Puranas, they were a people known as Andhras led by the then ruler Simuka, generally identified with the Simuka Satavahana of the Nanaghat inscription. Simuka, in the course of his northern campaigns when he extirpated the last Shunga and Kanvas, must have conquered districts round Vidisha. For, besides the Puranic passage, discovery of certain early Satavahana coins suggests that the Malwa region was within early Satavahana influence. But there was soon a change in the political scene. There was a temporary eclipse of Satavahana rule with the emergence of the mighty empire of Kanishka in the north towards the last quarter of the first century A. D. His rule extended over Madhyadesha also, which included northern portions of the present Madhya Bharat.

The Kushan empire was divided into *satrapies* or provinces under hereditary governors called Kshatrapas. After the death of Kanishka, the line of Scythian Kshatrapas in charge of the south-western part of the empire, assumed virtual independence under Nahapana. Rajputana, Malwa and Kathiawar fell within this *satrapy*. But Malwa was destined to change its masters soon.

Near-about 124 A. D. the Satavahana kingdom revived under Gautamiputra Satakarni. According to his Nasik *prashasti*, territories which he conquered from Nahapana included Anupa (the country on the Narbada about Nimar), Akara (east Malwa) and Avanti (west Malwa). Gautamiputra Satakarni, however, failed to maintain his hold over this region for long and Scythian power was revived under Chastana and Rudradaman. They recovered most of the northern districts of Gautamiputra's dominion originally wrested from Nahapana. In the Geography of Ptolemy written about 150 A. D. with materials collected a few years earlier, Ozene, i.e. Ujjaini, capital of Avanti, is mentioned as the headquarter of Traiasteness, the Greek corruption of Chastana. In the Junagarh rock inscription, Rudradaman is represented as the lord of many countries including Akara, Avanti and Anupa. This region continued to be a Shaka possession, excepting perhaps some portions of western Malwa, till its final incorporation with the Gupta empire. Only at the time of Yajna Satakarni (174-203 A. D.) Satavahana authority was again temporarily established on the Malwa region. This is suggested on the basis of some silver coinage of Rudradaman. According to Puranas, Vindhya-shakti the foundation of the Vakataka dynasty, flourished at this time somewhere near east Malwa.

While the southern parts of Madhya Bharat were thus undergoing rapid political changes the regions about Gwalior and Bhilsa were under a comparably more stable government of the Nagas ruling in small principalities from Kantipuri (according to Cunningham Kotwal 20 miles north of Gwalior) Padmavati (Pawaya, 40 miles south of Gwalior) and Vidisha (Bhilsa). Numerous copper cast coins of the Nagas have been found at Kotwal and Pawaya which testify to this. The Nagas of Padmavati are mentioned in the Vishnu Purana and in his famous Sanskrit play "the Malati-Madhava" Bhavabhuti gives a vivid description of the town. The legends on the coins from Kotwal and Pawaya mention ten names of Naga kings which however do not correspond with the nine Nagas of the Puranas. Though comparatively few coins have been found at Vidisha there is sufficient ground for believing that they continued to champion the cause of the orthodox religion as is evident from

the comparatively large number of Hindu images found at its ancient site.*

4th to 6th Century A. D.—the Gupta Period

The republican tribe of the Malavas who once stoutly resisted the invading Greek army of Alexander the Great in the 4th century B. C. in their original homeland in the Punjab, were in the course of the succeeding centuries forced to migrate from there southwards to Rajasthan due to repeated political pressure against them. It appeared by the 4th century A. D. that they had occupied the north-western parts of Madhya Bharat round-about Dashapura or Mandsor and had come into conflict with the western Satrapas. The town of Dashapura had been their mainstay as will be evident from a number of inscriptions of a century afterwards found from the place. But it is at this very time the Guptas were laying the foundations of a vast empire in Magadha under the ambitious Samudragupta and the Malavas, who for centuries had fought for their independence, and for the preservation of their celebrated political institutions were now obliged to succumb to the new imperialism.

In the north about Gwalior the authority of the Nagas was supplanted by the newly rising power of the Guptas and as stated in his famous Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudragupta finally vanquished them sometime in the middle of the 4th century A. D. The inscription also claims victory over a number of ruling tribes and dynasties in Northern India such as the Malavas mentioned above and the Sanakanikas† of the region near Bhilsa. It seems therefore fairly clear that under the Guptas the whole of Madhya Bharat was once more under one sceptre with an assured peace and a stable government in power. It may be that this state of affairs took a final shape in the reign of Chandragupta II about whose campaigns

*More than a dozen images of the Saptamatrikas, Durga, Kubera, etc., have been recovered from Besnagar which would seem to belong to the age of the Nagas rather than the Guptas to which they have so far been assigned.

†A chief of this tribe mentioned as Maharaja was ruling as a vassal of Chandragupta II near Udyagiri (Bhilsa) where he caused a cave to be excavated. See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions* CII, III, p. 25.

against the Shakas of Malwa and their final subjugation there. There is a recorded evidence in the Udaygiri caves near Bhilsa.*

The prosperity of Madhya Bharat territories under the Guptas is well reflected in the few monuments left at Pawaya, Tumain (Guna District), Besnagar and Udaygiri (Bhilsa), Mandsor and in the famous caves and paintings of Bagh. The antiquities recovered from the sites of Padmavati (Pawaya) and Vidisha (Besnagar) are unique in the whole range of the classic art of the "Golden Age" of the Guptas. The terraced brick structure discovered at Pawaya with a number of terracotta heads and figures have their parallels only from the ancient site of Ahicchatra in U. P. The site has yielded a number of stone antiquities also such as a palm capital, two-faced sun-capital, a statue of Naga and, best of all, a huge fragment of a lintel of a Torana gateway with the most beautiful carvings depicting a scene of dance and the legend of Bali's sacrifice on it. The antiquities from Besnagar are most important for the early history of the Hindu sects of Vaishnavism and Shaivism. The colossal image of Durga, the sculptures of the Seven Mothers, Nrisimha, Vishnu and the Ekamukha lingas are the instances in point, in addition to the stone figures of Kubera and other antiquities. The large image of Shiva and an exquisitely carved fragment of a very large doorframe from Mandsor are equally noteworthy in this regard. What is interesting is that almost no Buddhist antiquities of the Gupta period are found within the territories of Madhya Bharat except in the famous caves of Bagh. From all these scattered remains it is quite obvious that this part of the country also made a well deserved contribution to the renaissance of the art and culture of that age.

Already from the time of Kumara Gupta I, the Hunas had commenced threatening the fabric of the Gupta empire. By about 468 A. D. the empire had almost collapsed. The Hunas under Toramana and Mihirkula had penetrated right into the heart of the country as far as Gwalior and even further southwards to Eran. It appears a branch line of the Guptas ruled in the southern parts of Madhya Bharat. The Malavas, however,

**Op. Cit.* p. 36.

attempted to rise again, not as the great republicans of former times, but as builders of a vast empire. For a time they succeeded in this under their leader Yashodharman who claims to have been a master of an empire more extensive than that of his predecessors, the Guptas. The two pillars commemorating his victorious campaign in 532-33 A. D. against the infamous Hunas are still lying in fragments near Mandsor or Dashapur which was undoubtedly his capital. But the whole conception was against the republican tradition of the Malavas and like their success their breakdown too was phenomenal. It was probably at this time of their political ascendancy, that the Malavas occupied the whole of the plateau which thus eventually came to be known after them.

7th to 9th centuries A. D.

In the midst of this political chaos some remnants of the Gupta lineage were still holding on in parts of Malwa, as is evident from the fact that they had come into conflict with the newly rising power of the Vardhanas of Sthaneshvar. It would seem from the *Harsha-charita* of Bana that a king of Malwa, possibly Devagupta, murdered Grahavarman of Kanauj to avenge which Rajyavardhana attacked Malwa. The tragic events which followed and the wars which King Harsha waged eventually in Malwa must have brought to close the era of political confusion for a time at least. The southern extremity of Madhya Bharat, the plain of Nimar, however, formed part of the Deccan kingdom of the Chalukyas.

Harsha died in 647 A. D. without leaving an able successor to rule the large kingdom he had built north of Narbada. The result was the fragmentation of the country, north of that river, into a number of principalities under the various Rajput tribal chiefs who had by now come more into prominence. The Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj were, it seems, holding a substantial portion of Madhya Bharat as is clear from the two inscriptions of 875-76 A. D. found in the fort of Gwalior. The plain of Nimar and eastern part of the plateau near Bhilsa were, however, for a time under the rule of the Rastrakutas* of the

*The Pathari (Bhilsa District) Pillar inscription refers to the erection of the pillar by a Minister of Rastrakuta king Parabala in 861 A. D.

Deccan who had lately brought down the power of the Chalukyas. The Rashtrakutas may have conquered parts of Malwa proper also, as their records profess that the kings Dhruva, Govinda III and Indra III carried successful campaigns in the north at the expense of their Pratihara contemporaries, Vatsaraja, Nagabhata II and Mahipala. In a grant of Govinda III, his father Dhruva is given the credit of having conquered a king of Malwa.

In the cultural field these three centuries are rather uneventful though monuments of this period, mostly temples, are found at Gwalior, Amrol and Churli (Gwalior District), Kota (Shivpuri District), Mahua, Terahi and Rajapur (Guna District), Dhamnar, Khejadia, Bhop and Poladongar (Mandsor district), etc. They clearly suggest that Hinduism and Jainism were well-flourishing in these regions and though Buddhism had to its credit the monuments at Gyaraspur, Dhamnar, Poladongar, Rajapur and Khejadia Bhop their character evidently suggest that this faith was on the decline. The famous Chinese traveller Hieuntsiang mentions four States in Central India, *viz.* Molopa (western Malwa), Ujjayini, Maheshwarapura and Zazoti. Of these except Molopa each one had a Brahmin ruler, Molopa being a little before his coming to India under a Buddhist prince named Shiladitya.

10th to 13th century A. D.

The close of the 10th century A. D. witnessed the simultaneous decline of the two rival empires of the Pratiharas in the north and the Rashtrakutas in the south. This made possible for the Rajput feudatory powers to assert their independence and as a result the new Rajput Houses of the Paramaras and the Kacchavahas first came into prominence dividing the territories of Madhya Bharat into the two sizeable kingdoms of Malwa and Gwalior respectively.

The Rajput house of Paramaras were formerly feudatories of the Rashtrakutas in Gujarat. When Rashtrakuta glory was waning away and the hold of Pratihara empire at Kanauj was slackening, Paramaras shifted themselves from Gujarat to Malwa. Siyaka II was perhaps the first independent Paramara ruler. His successors Vakpati II and Munja (974-995 A. D.) were powerful and ambitious princes. They waged continuous wars

with the neighbouring Rajput princes and repeatedly tried to oust Taila II who had usurped the throne of the Rastrakutas. Munja lost his life in the course of his battle with Taila. He was, moreover, a great patron of learning and was himself a poet and scholar of some repute.

Munja was succeeded by Bhoja (1010-1050 A. D.) the greatest monarch of the Paramara dynasty, famous in Indian legend and history. His claim to greatness rests more on his patronage of art and literature than on his political and military achievements. Like his predecessor, he too had a tragic end. There was a joint attack on his capital by the Chalukya prince of Gujarat and the Kalachuri king of the Chedis, in the course of which he lost his life.

The fallen fortunes of the family were for a time revived by Udayaditya (1058-1087) and his successor. But by the middle of the twelfth century, a large portion of the Paramara territory, including Ujjain, was lost to Siddharaja Jay Singh of Gujarat. Arjunavarman (1211-1215 A. D.) was the last able prince of the dynasty for his successor was called upon to bear the brunt of the Muslim invasions which finally brought down the Paramara rule once for all.

Under the Paramaras Malwa rose to a greatness and fame which will ever be remembered in the annals of the Hindu civilization. While the soldiers of Islam were carrying sword and fire against all the scattered principalities of northern India, Malwa lived in peace and prosperity undaunted by the new menace and holding out as the last great exponent of the ancient Hindu civilization and of the best that characterised her sacred lore. Few provinces in India can claim such a rich galaxy of literary magnates in so short a period as did Malwa in the days of the Paramaras. It is because of her vast contribution to the field of Sanskrit learning that Malwa's fame is eternal, a large share of which goes to Bhoja, the Great, who was indeed one of the most celebrated monarchs in Indian History. In the field of art and architecture also Malwa had reached a high pitch of excellence as is witnessed in the magnificent temples at Udaypur, Nemawar, Jamli, Badnawar and Un which undoubtedly rank high amongst the best specimens of ancient

Indian architecture. Bhoja rebuilt the old town of Dhara which had already become the capital of the Paramaras and raised it to the status of the great cities of his age. Of the few remnants of that glorious city, which are now left, the most notable is what is now the Kamal Maula's mosque said to have been once the great college known as Bhoja Shala called after the name of the founder. It was in the later Paramara period that the stronghold of Mandu (Mandapa-durga) came into prominence destined to be the capital of Malwa in later times. Of the other new towns which had come into existence the most important were Gagron, Nalcha (Nalakachapura), Chanderi, Bejaya nagar, Hindia, etc., which played a prominent role in the subsequent history of Malwa.

The Kacchavahas came into prominence in the later half of the 11th century establishing themselves in the northern parts of Madhya Bharat. There were in all three branches of this line ruling at Gwalior, Narwar and Dubkund, west of Gwalior. The Gwalior branch is fairly well known from the Sas Bahu Temple inscription of Gwalior Fort which gives a much reliable narrative of the history of the dynasty up to 1093 A. D. For the Dubkund branch there is an inscriptive record available of 1043 A. D. which also gives a brief narrative of the family history. A similar Kacchavaha branch ruled at Narwar also as testified by an inscription of 1120 A. D. referring to the then Kacchavaha prince Virasimha as ruler of Nalapura. Southwards the region about Chanderi, it seems, was variously under the Chandellas and the local branch of the Pratiharas.

As under the Paramaras the northern territories also witnessed a temple building activity which because of the readily available building materials of sandstone was far more extensive and intensive than in the south. Numerous stone-built temples of this age have survived till today at Gwalior, Suhania, Surwaya, Mitaoli, Padhavali, Kadwaha, Ranod and other places giving but a faint idea of the general prosperity of this region in those times. Unlike the Paramaras the Kacchavahas could not take any special lead in the literary field which has made the former more famous in history. As in the south here too Buddhism seems to have totally gone out of existence.

Muslim Invasions

The Kacchavahas were soon called upon to face the new menace of Muslim invasions much earlier than the Paramaras in the south. In 1019 the Raja of Gwalior virtually invited Mahmud's invasion upon his territory. He incurred the wrath of Mahmud by helping the Chandella prince against Rajyapal, the Pratihara king of Kanauj for his abject surrender before Mahmud's forces. Mahmud immediately started again to avenge the death of his vassal. On his way to Kalinjar, the stronghold of Chandellas, Mahmud laid siege to Gwalior in 1023 and compelled its chief to submit. As Mahmud was content by mere acceptance of his overlordship and exaction of tribute and booty from the vanquished powers his conquests did not imply territorial annexation. The result was that as soon as the Mahmud Gazni's repeated invasions ceased the Rajput States reasserted their independence. When renewal of Muslim conquest of India was undertaken by Mohammad Ghori, Gwalior was an independent principality. It was, however, reduced to Muslim submission once again by Mohammad Ghori. In 1197 A. D., Qutubuddin again captured Gwalior and made it a part of his dominion. But during the brief reign of Aramshah Gwalior threw off the yoke of Delhi only to be reconquered by Iltutmish in 1231 A. D. The Raja of Gwalior offered desperate resistance at this time and it was only after a protracted war of eleven months that the fortress was captured.

Emboldened by this success Iltutmish marched against Malwa and first captured the fort of Bhilsa before he proceeded on to Ujjain which easily fell into his hands.

During this epoch, it became customary for the Rajput States to throw off the humiliation of submission the moment the imperial authority showed signs of weakness. In the troubled political condition which ensued with the death of Iltutmish, the Rajput princes in northern Madhya Bharat became independent. But the strong hand of Balban restored Muslim overlordship over them once again. In 1251 A. D. he reduced Gwalior, Chanderi, Malwa and Narwar in the course of a single expedition.

The kingdom of the Paramaras was by now called upon to follow the same fate. The ravages of Shamsu-ud-din Iltutmish in Malwa and his destruction of the old cities of Bhilsa and Ujjain had only a temporary effect on the ruling power which was, however, finally smashed in the fort of Mandu itself by the general Ain-ul-Mulk specially commissioned by the Sultan Alauddin Khilji of Delhi, as it is often said, "to cleanse that old Gabristan from the stench of infidelity". This event finally and formally brought an end to the Paramara rule of Malwa under Milhakdeva in 1305 A. D. whence it became a province of the Delhi empire. In the reign of Muhammad Shah (1389-1394), however, the Governor Dilawar Khan Gori of Malwa assumed almost complete authority over the province and formally declared himself an independent sovereign in 1401 A. D. Dilawar Khan kept his capital at Dhar though he paid frequent visits to Mandu where he sometimes held his court also. He did not live longer to rule and died in 1405.

Alp Khan, with his regal name of Hoshang Shah, ascended his father's throne in 1405 and shifted the capital permanently to Mandu. He ruled Malwa for 27 years and carried the boundaries of his realm as far as Kalpi in the north and Kherla in the south. His warlike spirit brought him into conflict with the neighbouring powers of Gujarat, Delhi and Jaunpur. His constant wars with the Gujarat kings once cost him his throne which fortune, however, soon restored to him afterwards. Hoshangshah died in 1432 A. D. as a ruler most beloved of his subjects leaving the reins of his realm to his son Gazni Khan who ascended the throne with the name of Mahmud Shah.

Mahmud Shah's reign, however, proved shortlived for he died in 1436 of poison administered to him at the instance of his own confidant, Mahmud Khan, who soon afterwards ascended the throne himself. With the death of this king, the rule of the Gori dynasty in Malwa came to an end.

Mahmud Shah, the first Khilji ruler of Mandu, may rightly be styled as a soldier Sultan always engaged in military expeditions as a result of which the kingdom of Malwa reached its widest limits in his long reign of 33 years. He waged wars not only against the rulers of Gujarat, Deccan and Jaunpur, but

even against the Sultan of Delhi. The usual target of his expeditions was, however, the Rana of Mewar and to commemorate one of his victories over the Rana he raised at Mandu a magnificent seven-storeyed tower only basement of which has now survived. Though a man of exceptional military prowess, he was renowned equally for his love and patronage of learning and for his sympathetic understanding of human nature which made his subjects, Muslims and Hindu alike, prosperous and happy during his long reign. It was because of his high personal qualities that Malwa rose under him to the status of a great and prosperous kingdom and was so recognised in the Islamic world of the time.

Mahmud died in 1469 A. D. succeeded by his eldest son Ghiath-ud-Din who, unlike his father devoted all his regal career of 31 years to peaceful pursuits. Inspite of his extraordinary fancy for women, he never touched wine. He was deeply religious minded and ruled with order, liberality, justice and charity. There was almost no war in his long reign and the kingdom was peaceful, happy and prosperous. When he was almost eighty, he died, it is said, of poison administered to him by his own son Nasir-ud-din, an incident which has been narrated most feelingly by Jehangir in his *Memoirs*.

Nasir-ud-din ascended the throne in 1500 A. D. but he had an unhappy and troubled career. He was first called upon to resolve the domestic feuds and other uprisings in his kingdom. The circumstances of his guilt seem also always to have haunted his mind which ultimately made him suspicious and violent in temperament. He died of a burning fever after an unhappy rule of only 10 years leaving the kingdom to his third son Mahmud.

The domestic feuds which originated in the time of his father continued to torment Mahmud II more violently. He could cope with them mainly with the assistance of a Rajput chief, Medini Ray, who eventually wielded considerable influence over the king and his affairs. The power of the Ray soon became unbearable to the king who, under some pretext, fled from Mandu and with the help of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat regained his power after ousting the Rajput chief. But, the king did not keep good relations with Bahadur Shah, the successor of

Muzaffar Shah, who, in 1526, invaded Malwa and having successfully invested the fort of Mandu, took Mahmud a prisoner and annexed the territory to his kingdom.

The political fortunes of the northern Madhya Bharat were for all these years centring round the historical fortress of Gwalior. Though its proximity to the Muslim capital of Delhi was a disadvantage the hardy Rajas of Gwalior managed, whenever they found it convenient, to defy the overlordship of Delhi. The Tomar chiefs, who were now masters of the region, often played off the neighbouring Muslim powers of Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa against each other and stabilised their strength within their small limits of Gwalior and Narwar. The most illustrious of the Gwalior princes was Raja Man Singh who ruled between 1479 and 1517 A. D. He had made his small kingdom very prosperous in the midst of all his political difficulties and pursued successfully arts of peace and war alike. He constructed irrigation works and tanks, and encouraged music in which he was himself a proficient composer. His contribution to architecture has earned him a still greater name the living evidence of which is still seen in the famous Man Mandir adorning the eastern face of the hillfort of Gwalior. With his death in 1517 the glory of Gwalior passed away. The fort was soon laid siege by Ibrahim Lodi who took it after a stiff resistance from the defenders. But events were by now fast moving to the year 1526 when one more new chapter in the history of India was destined to be opened.

Before passing to the next phase of the history of Madhya Bharat, mention may here be made of the magnificent remains of Mandu such as of the great palaces, mosques and tombs raised by the Muslim rulers of Malwa which still exist within the extensive limits of the fort walls. Of these, the edifices of Jami Masjid, Asharfi Mahal and tomb of Mahmud, Hoshang's Tomb, Jahaz Mahal, Hindola Mahal, Baz Bahadur's palace, Rupmati's Pavilions, and Malik Mughith's Mosque are the best surviving examples of the Pathan style of architecture in Malwa.

1526 and after—The Mughal Period

In the fateful battle of Panipat in 1526 A. D. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was killed leaving the Sultanate to the Mughal conquerors under Babar. In 1528, Babar marched on Gwalior and took the

fort and the surrounding country which thus formed part of the Mughal empire of Delhi without any subsequent political changes until the rise of the Marathas in the first half of the 18th century. In the south Malwa remained a dependency of Gujarat till 1534 A. D. when Humayun conquered the fort while the king Bahadur Shah escaped from Songarh, the citadel of Mandu, after having let his horses down from the precipice. But, as soon as Humayun left Malwa, Mallu Khan, an officer of the former Khilji dynasty, retook all the territory between the Narbada and Bhilsa and crowned himself at Mandu with the title of Qadir Shah in 1536 A. D.

In 1542, Sher Shah invaded and conquered Malwa and appointed Shuja Khan as his Governor in Malwa. Shuja Khan died in 1554 almost as an independent sovereign. After a domestic feud amongst his three sons, one of them, Malik Bayazid, crowned himself as an independent ruler with the title of Sultan Baz Bahadur.

Baz Bahadur showed some spirit of enterprise in the beginning, but after his disgraceful defeat by the Rani Durgawati, he almost forswore fighting. He gave himself up to the science of music in which the famous and beautiful Rupmati proved to be his most favourite associate and consort. The selfless and devoted love between them is a favourite theme in the folk-songs of Malwa. It was in this state of affairs that Akbar's general, Adham Khan, invaded Malwa in 1561 A. D., and routed him near Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur fled from battle but Rupmati fell into the hands of the invaders. The faithful lady, however, committed suicide instead of falling victim to the allurements of the enemy.

After the fall of Baz Bahadur, Malwa ceased to exist as an independent kingdom. It formed an important province of the Mughal Empire in charge of a governor.

The policies pursued by Aurangzeb let loose forces of disruption in the empire which ultimately brought down the whole grand structure soon after his death. The Marathas of the Deccan under an able leadership of their national hero Shivaji had nearly exhausted the imperial resources even in the life-time of Aurangzeb by carrying menacing depredations into the im-

perial territories particularly into southern parts of Madhya Bharat. The empire was facing desintegration equally from within; for, the Bundelas under Chatrasal succeeded in carving out a principality for himself in about 1731 which included parts of eastern and central Madhya Bharat.

Aurangzeb did realize the danger to his vast dominions from the Marathas and carried out a longdrawn campaign in the Deccan under his own personal command. But the warlike spirit of the Marathas and the military tactics they pursued proved more than a match for the imperial armies who eventually became wearied of this rash adventure. Aurangzeb died in the course of the campaign at Aurangabad despairing of any signs of success. His successor tried to adopt a more moderate policy towards the Marathas but the empire was already on the verge of collapse. The Maratha incursions into Malwa continued unabated and were more intensified during the years 1728 to 1740 A. D. In 1728 the Mughal Governor, Girdhar Bahadur, was routed and killed in battle near the fort of Mandu by Chimnaji, the younger brother of the Peshwa. Five years later, Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Scindia appeared again on the scene to face Raja Jaisingh of Ambar who was specially commissioned by the Emperor to stem the tide of this recurring menace. But the result was that the Rajput chief was obliged to sue for peace promising payment of cash and cessation of a territory in Malwa as *chauth* or tribute. Alarmed by this trend of events the emperor made another serious effort to drive the Marathas out of Malwa and Rajputana. The cumbersome contingents of the imperial army were, however, promptly outwitted by the light Maratha cavalry with the result the Mughal generals, on the advice of Jai Singh, could secure an agreement from the Marathas to retire south of the Narmada in lieu of a promise of regular payment of a large sum from the imperial treasury as their due share of tribute or *chauth* of Malwa. But before this agreement could be acted upon the Marathas came again in 1736 in a rapid swoop, this time, on the imperial capital itself. The Peshwa Bajirao I, led the campaign in person with all his picked lieutenants with him and scored a crushing victory over the large body of Mughal troops in the outskirts of the city. The emperor summoned the Nizam for

help but the Marathas intercepted him at Bhopal and compelled him to submit to the terms dictated by them. The Marathas thus secured almost a virtual sovereignty over the territories between the Chambal and the Narbada (*i. e.* Madhya Bharat) and an additional levy of 50 lakhs. In all these campaigns the Maratha chiefs, Ranoji Scindia and Malharrao Holkar, had specially distinguished themselves as leaders of great military and political talents which eventually enabled them to carve out principalities for themselves covering almost the whole of the territory of Madhya Bharat.

In 1740 Bajirao died succeeded by his son Balaji as Peshwa who through the agency of the Nizam secured from the Mughal emperor a sort of formal or legal sanction for the otherwise *de facto* occupation of the Malwa territory by the Marathas through rather an interesting device of getting himself ceremoniously appointed as the emperor's humble Deputy Governor of Malwa. The Maratha chiefs acted as the agents of the Peshwa in the north where they wielded considerable influence in political and military matters. They were besides assigned certain territories within this realm for the maintenance of their troops and for the smooth performance of their duties. The Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar and Dewas which covered the whole of Madhya Bharat owe their origin and history to this system.

The fateful battle of Panipat in 1761, though it weakened their hold on the North Indian politics for a time, did not materially affect the stability of the Maratha power in Madhya Bharat. Shortly after, Mahadji Scindia, who had escaped as a wounded and lame soldier from Panipat rose to power by virtue of his great qualities of leadership. For the next three decades he dominated the political scene in Northern India avowedly as a nominee of the Peshwa. For a time he even guided the affairs of the emperor at Dehli acting as the latter's protector and saviour. Indeed when at the height of his power, before he died in 1794, he appeared to be the towering personality in his day who could have successfully challenged the rising power of the British in India. He and the crafty Nana of Poona were the main pillars on which the whole structure of the vast confederated dominions of the Marathas in the north and the south were

largely supported. After his death the weakness of the Maratha confederacy became obvious so that the British could now, for the first time, actively interfere in Maratha political affairs. Daulat Rao, the successor of Mahadji, could hardly cope with the turn of events. The traditional rivalries between the families of Holkar and Scindia now rose up to the disadvantage of both of them. In 1818 the power of the Peshwas was finally brought to an end by the British who had by now already started interfering with the political affairs of the Scindias and the Holkars. The later attempted to offer resistance but they were overwhelmed by their own adverse circumstances and by the superior and well-organised power of the British.

CHAPTER V

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

(A) Architecture

(i) *Sacred Architecture—Hindu, Buddhist and Jain.*—The earliest visible evidence of sacred architecture in Madhya Bharat is found on a desolate looking hillock near Kasrawad in the Ni-mar district. They consist of brick built Stupas, eleven in number, sacred to the Buddhist faith of 1st-2nd centuries B. C. almost contemporaneous with the famous remains of Sanchi. The Stupas at Kasrawad are much smaller in size, the biggest one measuring 35' in diameter containing no carving or artistic features of special significance as at Sanchi. They are simple hemispherical drums with paved pathway all round obviously for circumambulation. Architecturally they are not much important though they certainly indicate the predominance of the religion of the Buddha which, with the Eternal Law (Sanatana Dharma), held sway over the whole of Northern India in the centuries about Christian era. It is possible that just at this time a Vaishnava temple existed at Besnagar, in front of which a Greek ambassador erected the famous Garudadhvaja still standing *in situ*. But nothing has survived to show how the earliest Hindu sanctuaries, if any, were in those days. It may be they were then built only in wood no evidence of which having thus been left to posterity to know about it.

For the next five centuries the record of sacred architecture in Madhya Bharat is a void still to be filled up, till the 4th-6th centuries A. D. when we get the famous caves at Bagh and Udaya-giri the former sacred to the Buddhist and the latter to the

Hindu and Jain faiths. The architectural peculiarities of the Bagh caves consist of large pillared halls with small cells on both sides and porticoes in front and chapels at the back. The pillars are massive and bear variety of carved patterns. The door-frames of the entrance bear features common in the structural temples of the Gupta period (4th-6th centuries A. D.). The architectural features of the Udaygiri caves, however, consist of only small cells with richly ornamented doorways, the walls in the verandah bearing sculptures, unlike the painted wall surfaces of the Bagh caves.

Of the pre-Gupta period it will be observed that there now exist no remains of any temple as such dedicated to any of the Hindu divinities, the earliest surviving examples of architecture being more or less connected with the Buddhist religion. Various surmises have been made with regard to the origin and antiquity of the Hindu temple but it will suffice here to say that the earliest Hindu temples, still existing, belong to the 4th-6th centuries A. D. and are found mainly in Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Further they present few noteworthy characteristics, *viz.*, a simple plan consisting of only a small square cell or sanctum, with a porch in front, without any spire or *shikhara* and the walls bearing almost no decoration. A richly carved door-frame with certain common *motifs* and a few sculptures such as of the door-keepers and of other more known divinities in addition to the image of the enshrined deity, formed the only stock-in-all of its decorative material. Thus architecturally the Gupta or earliest temple was an unassuming structure except for its finest (and perhaps the most remarkable in the history of plastic art) sculptural material. It was a simple one room tenement for the residence of the deity. Such temples have not survived in Madhya Bharat except the "false cave" No 1 at Udaygiri which gives the idea what the earliest temple was like. There certainly once existed many of them in Madhya Bharat as can be judged from the numerous beautiful and carved fragments recovered from their sites at places like Pawaya, Besnagar and Mandsor, etc.

In about the 7th-9th centuries A. D. the temple architecture takes a definite and impressive shape. The simple flat-roofed shrine is now adorned with a tapering ornate *shikhara* or spire with more richly carved porches and door-frames. The exterior

wall spaces are filled with carving and ornamentation. Some examples of this simple but graceful style of architecture are found in Madhya Bharat of which the most notable is the Teli temple and to a certain extent the Chaturbhuj temple on the Gwalior Fort. There are also other temples at Amrol hardly 20 miles from Gwalior, at Indhar in Guna District and at Badoli and Gyaraaspur in Bhilsa District. Of them the Teli temple in the fort is singularly impressive and fascinating primarily because of its lofty barrel-shaped south Indian *shikhara* overlooking the surrounding country below.

The period between 10-12th centuries A. D. is the most glorious in the history of temple architecture in northern India. Temple architecture had now become a finished and well-developed technique or art capable of little further improvement. Considerable technical literature on *Vastushastra* (science of building) had come into being for the guidance of the architects and craftsmen. Architecture had divided itself into various branches of study and practice each demanding intensive training and experience. The plan of the temple was no longer a simple affair as in earlier periods with a small square shrine and a porch in front. It had become complicated, for now it consisted of the *garbhagriha*, or the womb-house or the *sanctum*, where the presiding deity was enshrined, under an exquisitely carved ceiling over which stood a lofty spire or *shikhara* an object of wonder for the laity of the locality. In front of this sanctum was planned a large pillared hall or *Sabhamandapa* for the congregation of the community where all the problems of their sophisticated lives could be laid bare and solved. It was this *Sabhamandapa* that linked the various threads of their diverse social lives into one common pattern. Every inch of space of this huge *Sabhamandapa* such as its massive pillars, ceilings and architraves, was covered with carving, as if, like the life of the people, it could not be kept vacant or void and must reflect it as far as was within its power. The whole episodes from the great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, would sometimes be represented to beacon life's higher aspects or gay figures of dancing girls in graceful poses could occasionally be portrayed, nay, even the cruder aspects of the amorous or dallying spirit of man could find a place here; for is not life made of all these things ? The plan did not end here

at all; for in front and perhaps on both sides of the *Sabhamandapa* were raised graceful porches all faced with sculptures or other ornamentations in keeping with the dignity of the whole structure.

Perhaps this would not suffice and a number of attendant shrines for the various members of the family of the presiding divinity in the great temple would cluster round about it. The whole scheme would occasionally be completed by a most exquisitely carved *Torana* gateway offering an auspicious entrance to the huge premises of the abode of the god within.

The number of the surviving examples of this full blown conception of architecture in Madhya Bharat is simply staggering. It seems a wave of temple building had then swept over this land; for, nine tenths of the ancient temples now existing belong to this age. Only few of them, the best ones can here be named such as those at Udaypur, Gwalior fort, Nemawar, Badoh, Gyaraspur, Un, etc. In the long array of these sacred structures the Udayeshwar temple stands supreme representing the best of what the ancient architects of Madhya Bharat could achieve. Fortunately it had escaped from the ravages of the idol breakers. The crowning beauty of this temple lies in its well proportioned *Shikhara* and the most delicately carved medallions which adorn it. Almost equally beautiful is the Siddheshwar temple at Nemawar picturesquely situated on the northern bank of the sacred Narbada. The other temples have characteristic features of their own though in their broader aspects they conform to the style of architecture of their age. For example the temple at Gyaraspur was approached through a most gracefully decorated gateway now bearing the romantic, though popular, name of the Hindola *Torana*. These are characteristics which for want of space it is not possible to dilate upon here any longer.

In any historical process decay seems to have been an inevitable stage and to this, temple architecture was no exception. The forces which hastened its decay were, however, extraneous rather than inherent in the process itself. The story of the destruction of these sacred edifices is a subject by itself. It should however be remembered that there are stories and dialogues current in the chronicles of the Muslim historians themselves, how, even the Muslim rulers hesitated to destroy these precious

works of art. The human in them could not fail to make them admire these beauties created by man though it was at last suppressed by the overawing spirit of their faith. It is to one of such interesting episodes that we owe, it is alleged, the survival of one of the most beautiful products of the architects of Madhya Bharat, e. g., the temple at Udaypur. The triumph over the Hindu architecture was achieved often on its ashes on which great mosques and tombs were raised. But the love for ornamentation and the vision of space gleaned through every detail the mark of his handicraft, so characteristic of the Hindu architect, could not but fail to influence the otherwise simple and chaste architecture of the Muslims. The story of how this dying architecture still struggled to live in the succeeding centuries is a problem which it is not our province to probe here into.

Sacred Architecture—Muslim.—As compared with the architecture of the temples, the religious architecture of the Musalmans strikes one as fundamentally different. While richness and variety of decorative details and figure sculptures are the keynote of temple architecture, the Muslim mosques are marked by the hugeness of their proportions and majestic simplicity of the form of their structures. The aesthetic concepts underlying the two were totally and basically different.

Islamic architecture in Madhya Bharat begins in 14-15th century with the mosques at Dhar, Mandu, Bhonrasa and Bhilsa. This first phase consisted mainly of conversion of older Hindu temples into mosques built often on the same sites with the materials of the destroyed temples adjusted with certain skilful devices to conform to the accepted standards of the Muslim religious edifices. The second or the classical phase begins some time at the close of the 15th century at Mandu where majestic structures like the Jami Masjid, Tombs of Hoshang and Mahmud were raised, planned and designed for their own sake and not on the basis of utilizing temple materials as before. The influence of Hindu workmanship is however evident in their ornamentation, which is sparingly employed in keeping with the simple dignity of the mosques.

Of religious buildings of the later or Mughal period, now surviving in Madhya Bharat, the few tombs at Mandu, the Alamgiri

mosque and the famous tomb of Muhammed Ghous at Gwalior are worth mentioning. They follow the general characteristics of the Mughal buildings at Delhi and Agra.

Civil or Secular Architecture.—Unlike religious architecture, as exemplified in temples, rock-cut caves, stupas, etc., there have survived no edifices such as palaces and other residential buildings giving us some idea of the ways of living of the people in ancient Madhya Bharat. There are many references in literature to the building of palaces and mansions, but none of them, like some of the ancient temples, have survived. It would seem that they were built of perishable material like wood, which was readily available and could lend itself to carvings and designs required to adorn these buildings. From the carved reliefs of Barhut and Sanchi one can just surmise what these ancient palaces or houses were like. The only residential buildings, if they can be so called, surviving in Madhya Bharat till today are a few monasteries at Kadwaha, Ranod, Kuidalpur and Surwaya, an ancient gateway called Chovis Khamba at Ujjain and a pillared hall called Solah Khambi, meant to be a pleasure retreat, at Badoli. Of these the monasteries were built of huge blocks of stone with huge slabs of stone being used for roofing purposes. They represent no particular style or conception in the art of building. The same technique and material is found used in the hall at Badoli and in the gateway at Ujjain. All these structures belong to the mediaeval period of 10-12th centuries A. D.

At Gwalior alone there exist a few palaces, *viz.*, the Man Mandir and Gujari Mahal and gateways built in purely Hindu style by the Tomara kings (mainly Raja Man Singh), in 15th century A. D. The style reflected in the design of their pillars, brackets, door-frames and the various decorative *motifs* used therein are purely of Hindu conception. Besides, the patterns of their screen work and coloured enamels and their roofing devices show little in common with the similar Muslim edifices of the time in Northern India. Few buildings of this kind are found in India. The most important of them, *i. e.* the Man Mandir, was planned with two open courts surrounded by living apartments provided with balconies on the upper floor, overlooking the courts below.

The rest of Madhya Bharat was at this time under the rule of the Sultans of Mandu whose intense building activity is amply in evidence at Mandu, Dhar, Ujjain, Chanderi and other places. These are mostly the palaces and large mansions built by the kings and their nobles for their residences. In plan they often consist of large halls surrounded by smaller apartments their architecture being marked by imposing flights of steps and stately entrances, well proportioned arches, vaulted ceilings with shapely domes crowning the whole structures. Unlike the Hindu edifices ornamentation was sparingly used only to relieve the plainness of walls by plaster mouldings and by some common floral or geometrical patterns often, as at Mandu, set in coloured tiles. Beautifully designed stone screens were also occasionally inserted. The style definitely indicates the desire for comfort and security on the part of the builders.

The number of Rajput principalities existing in Madhya Bharat during the subsequent period gave rise to a building activity after the manner of their Mughal overlords of Delhi and Agra. The imperial residences at Agra and Delhi were the models and eventually most of the palaces and other buildings built in fortified *gadhis*, often facing an attractive landscape, by the various Rajput princes, were largely in the fashionable style of the Mughals with their graceful trifoliate arches and fluted domes and projecting balconies overlooking some attractive natural scenery. The best examples of such residences are found in the forts of Atar, Narwar, Gohad, Sabulgarh, Sheopur, Rajgadh, Narsingarh, etc.

(B) Arts of Sculpture and Painting

(a) *Sculpture*:—Though the story of the art of sculpture in Madhya Bharat may have gone to very early historical times positive evidence on its history and development is traceable only from the 3rd century B. C. onwards. It may be, as elsewhere in Northern India, artists may have confined their activities chiefly to useful arts such as wood carvings in buildings, jewellery, ivory work and possibly murals or wall paintings in aristocratic mansions for which glimpses are available in literary sources. That, as a practising profession, they had not entered the field of religion as craftsmen of importance is evident

from the low estimation they were held in, not only by the orthodox Smriti of Manu but even by lord Buddha himself. The tradition of engaging their services for religious purposes seems to have been inaugurated by the Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka, who is credited to have raised numerous religious edifices with commemorative pillars, in front, surmounted by beautifully executed animal capitals. Of such edifices and pillars, which the emperor probably erected at places like Ujjain or Besnagar, there is now little left from the viewpoint of sculptural art.

There is, however, a group of antiquities, *viz.* the free standing colossal statues, with regard to the age of which there is a divergence of opinions assigning them from the pre-Mauryan to the Shunga times. For such statues the ancient site of Besnagar may take the place of pride in yielding, up-to-date, three exactly similar figures of Yakshini* and, what may be considered to be, the most unique and giantly figure of Kubera recovered from the river Betwa a few months back.

The art of these free standing statues has characteristics of its own in that they are massive in volume, rather realistically stiff in expression, and peculiarly Indian in their dress and ornamentation. They were not, it seems, meant for religious or devotional purposes originally. They reflect the primitive in art, are purely Indian in spirit and outlook, representing, what may be called, the earliest phase of the indigenous art of India.

With the rapid expansion of Buddhism during the Shunga period, and later, the sculptural art tended to become narrative in content so that scenes or stories from the Jatakas or from the life of the Buddha were carried over beautifully in reliefs on the gateways and railings which circumscribed the stupas and remains of which have been recovered from Besnagar now kept in the Museum at Gwalior.

*Of these one, found many years back, is now in Indian Museum, Calcutta, the other, with only its upper half, discovered seven years' back, is in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, and the third, recovered from the Betwa in June last, is in the Bhilsa Dak Bungalow Museum. For this and the figure of Kubera see a note contributed to the Indian History Congress, Session, Gwalior, 1952.

The interregnum, which followed between the Shunga and the Gupta periods, seems to have been less eventful in the history of sculptural art in Madhya Bharat. The only reliable evidence of this time is found in the free-standing statue of Yaksha Manibhadra from Pawaya near Gwalior. It continues the same old tradition of free standing statues of Besnagar. The latter site has also yielded a little less than a dozen statues of the Seven Mothers, Durga, Nrishimha, Kubera, etc., all free-standing and carved on four sides, which artistically should be taken to form a joining link between the earlier art and the classical art of the Gupta period. In the matters of form, volume and expression they somewhat differ from their earlier counterparts, bringing them much closer to the classic art of the later age.

By the time of the Guptas artists had developed a respectable tradition and an intelligent taste for aesthetic values. The foreign elements or *motifs* had been completely grasped and mastered. *motifs* such as of "the vase and foliage", *chaitya* window designs, the *kirtt mukha*, etc, were for the first time conventionalised and used as decorative devices. Though the art had thus commenced to be formal, in the points of symmetry, perspective and proportions it was most perfect. Like the Buddhists, the Hindus also had by now started employing artists extensively for the making of the images of their deities. A number of instances of this are found from Pawaya, Udaygiri, Besnagar, Tumain, and Mandsor, some of which are now in the Gwalior Museum. The joyful beauty which pervades throughout this art is reflected in some of the most beautiful "dance and music" scenes found in India, such as those on the carved lintel from Pawaya and on the side panels of the Varaha Cave at Udaygiri.

In the subsequent medieval period of the 8th to 12th century A. D. the art of sculpture in Madhya Bharat seems to have extended its activities considerably by dominating the field of temple architecture. There were three factors which governed this art then, *viz.* (*i*) the rapid development of temple architecture making an enormous demand on the part of the sculptors, (*ii*) the encroachment of religious or iconographic texts in the field, laying down rules and regulations on the making of images, thus putting a positive hindrance in the development of a

really creative art and (iii) the bewildering growth in the number and forms of divinities, to be represented in stone, making the art rather stereotyped and lifeless.

In the Gupta period temple architecture was in a formative stage and artists exerted themselves more on the image to be enshrined than on the shrine itself. As for the shrine, they concentrated on the entrance, i.e., the doorframe so as to make it a fitting entrance to the abode of the deity enshrined within. The Gupta art is, therefore, most excellently exhibited, primarily, in these directions. But the temple architecture of the medieval period had become so elaborate, both in plan and elevation, that new and more efforts were demanded of the sculptors of the time. Consequently the figure sculptures and decorative motifs, which were now required to adorn all the available space on these edifices, grew enormously in number and variety. Conventionalism inevitably went to the other extreme and figures of animals such as lions, crocodiles, snakes, etc., became so stylised that it sometimes becomes difficult to trace the original through them. The variety of motifs, such as those of the Kirttimukha and those derived from lotus and other flora, becomes almost bewildering. The iconographic texts complicated the matters further. The art of this age in Madhya Bharat is therefore a product of the conflicting forces of encouragement and discouragement. It thus strikes one with its bewildering variety of forms, decorative patterns and motifs, a fair idea of which can easily be had from the very rich collection of these antiquities in the Gwalior Museum. In the country-side numerous temples are still standing at Suhania, Padhavli, Surwaya, Kadwaha, Udaipur, Gyaraspur, Nemawar, Un, etc., which amply testify to the above observations.

It may, however, be added that, even in the midst of these peculiar circumstances, the sculptors of Madhya Bharat produced some of the finest works of which any art may well be proud. This is particularly true of the beautiful images from the temples in Gwalior fort, Suhania, Udaypur, Padhavli and Gyaraspur which can be favourably compared with similar works from elsewhere in India.

(b) *Paintings*:—Though no tangible evidence is now left of the works of paintings prior to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. there is no

doubt, as is clear from the references to them in the early Buddhist texts and in the epics, that the art was fairly popular in the aristocratic strata of the society. Madhya Bharat, however, may claim a place of pride in the history of this art of India for having, within its southern limits, the famous rock-cut caves of Bagh wherein are still found traces of the fully matured pictorial art of the country which have their parallels only at one other place in India, i. e. Ajanta. There is much more in common between these two places, hardly 140 miles away from each other, as the crow flies, except that the caves at Bagh are fewer in number and the paintings therein have suffered much more at the hands of time and man. There are in all nine caves at Bagh of which only four, Nos. 2 to 5, are better preserved. The paintings in caves 2 and 5 have almost totally disappeared and while a few traces are left in cave No. 3, those in No. 4 are somewhat better preserved. It is the largest in the series and is popularly called as Rang Mahal "the Hall or Palace of Colours". The subjects covered by the paintings here are varied and numerous, such as the representations of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, decorative scroll works, friezes and other patterns, adorning walls, ceilings and pillars, and most important of them, a long array of scenes in the open verandah in front. The last is the better preserved of them and it covers scenes, such as, of sorrow and dance, of horse and elephant processions, which it is difficult to interpret as having been connected with either the story of the Buddha or the well-known tales of the Jatakas.

The technique and the general character of the Bagh paintings differ but little from those at Ajanta; for here too the paintings have been done in *tempera*, not, as has often been stated, in *fresco*, and the process and colours employed also seem to have been the same. The first rough coat (*rinfazzo*) was made of local ferruginous earth compounded with gravel, lime, and fibres of jute and hemp. The work, it seems, was done in a slipshod manner making the *rinfazzo* less tenacious than at Ajanta, a defect which was mainly responsible for the deterioration of the paintings. "On the other hand, as far as their artistry is concerned, there is little to choose between the pictures of Bagh and Ajanta. Both exhibit the same broad handling of their subjects, the same poetry of motion, the same wonderful diversity

in the poses of their figures, the same feeling for colour and the same strong yet subtle line-work. In both, decorative beauty is the key-note to which all else is attuned, and both are as free from realism as they are from stereotyped convention. The artists, to be sure, have portrayed their subjects direct from life, of that there can be no shadow of doubt, but however fresh and vital the portrayal may be, it never misses that quality of abstraction which is indispensable to mural decoration, as it is, indeed, to all truly great painting.*

Chronologically the caves may be said to belong to the Gupta period (4-6th centuries A. D.) which represents the classic or Golden age in the history of art in India. The paintings, therefore, belong to a school which was the source and fountain head from which half the art of Asia drew its inspiration.

What happened to this school and the artists in the succeeding centuries it is not known. It may be, with the extinction of Buddhism in Madhya Bharat by about the 10th century this art tradition had also almost left the land. It is only in the 15th century, nearly one thousand years after the age of Bagh, that we get other vestiges of this precious art in the State. They are now found on the glazed tiles adorning the facades of the famous palace of Raja Man Singh in Gwalior Fort. The subjects here refer to mainly decorative friezes, such as bands of crocodiles with their tails tied to each other, a line of ducks and panels inset with rows of elephants, tigers, panthers and plaintain trees. These beautiful mosaics are fine examples not only of architectural decoration but also of beautiful works of painting, a fact which has been, curiously enough, overlooked in works dealing with Indian painting. In mediaeval time the use of glazed tiles for architectural decoration spread over the whole world, from Seville in the west to Nankin in the east, everywhere adapting itself to the exigencies of local styles. Whatever be the origin of this material, the designs of the tiles that adorn this structure are purely Indian. Unlike the mosaics of the Lahore Fort, wherein we find everywhere an overwhelming Persian influence, these Gwalior mosaics are, on the contrary, least suspect of that influence as is clearly evident from the

**Bagh caves* by Marshall and others p. 17.

peculiarly Indian character of the design of banana trees on the walls of the southern facade. The coloured panels were still almost fresh from the artists' hands when they drew forth unstinted praise from a person like Babar, an enlightened connoisseur who was, however, little given to enthusiasm over things Indian.

Painted enamels are found also in Mandu in the south mostly adorning the grand edifices raised by the Sultans almost in the same period. The Mandu enamels are in yellow and indigo blue colours and in their subject matter are purely Muslim in conceptions. The patterns here often consisted of rows of niches or suitable floral motifs used to adorn the interior of the domes.

The rise of the Rajput school of painting in the adjacent territory of Rajasthan in the 17th century may have offered some encouragement to the art in Madhya Bharat, since a number of vassal chiefs ruling here were of Rajput descent. Little is known of such works at present though in some of the ruined palaces of the Rajput chiefs of Narwar, Sabalgarh, Kashipur, Sheopur, etc., traces of paintings on walls and ceilings can still be indistinctly seen. That the art of painting continued to be patronised even in later days is evident from the paintings on the walls and ceilings of certain apartments in the old palace of Moti Mahal, built in 1872 A. D. by Maharaja Jayajirao Scindia, which now accommodates the entire Secretariat of the Madhya Bharat Government.

(C) Music

The history of Indian music goes back to the Vedas variously dated from 2500 to 1500 B. C. The Rigvedic hymns contain references in praise of singing and make mention of a few musical instruments also. Some of the norms of the system of Indian music, however, may be traced to the Samaveda which was required to be sung strictly according to fixed rules. But the basic conception of Indian Music, such as that of the *Raga*, was evolved much later. *Raga* means literally that which colours or tinges the mind with some emotion or passion. In music it signifies a sonal composition of musical notes having a sequence, form or structure of a peculiar significance. The components of these notes may stand in various relationships to each other

these relationships determining the character and name of the several *ragas*.

It is in the development and multiplication of these *ragas* that Gwalior had played a prominent role in the past. The various *ragas* which characterised the Gwalior School are as follows :—

1. Dhrupad and Dhamar.
2. Khyal and Tappas.
3. Thumaries, Dadras and Ledas.
4. Gazals.
5. Taranas, Triwats and Chaturang.

Of these, the first and second are sung under hard and fast rules, the 3rd and 4th are more popular types and the fifth is more suitable for instrumental music specially in accompaniment of dancing.

The history of Gwalior School dates as far back as the time of Raja Man Singh in the 15th century A. D. or even earlier, by a few generations, to the time of Gopal Nayak and Baiju Bawra who were famous as great musicians of their times. Ferishta, the Muslim historian who flourished a few generations after Man Singh, however, gives an interesting account of the origin of music in Gwalior. According to him Malchund a legendary king of Malwa, not known from any other source, brought the science of music from the country of Tullinga (Telangana or Telugu) in the course of his military expedition to the Deccan and introduced it to Hindoostan i. e. northern India. He states further that Malchund was believed to have built the celebrated fort of Gwalior, wherein he himself resided and from where the descendants of the Tullingy musicians spread over the north of India. This tradition is not supported by any other known authority but the fact that a south Indian origin should herein be traced for the development of art of music at Gwalior is certainly interesting when one finds an echo of a similar south Indian influence, in the field of architecture also, in the famous Teli temple in the fort with a characteristic barrel shaped south Indian spire rare to be found in north India. Whatever be the truth

behind the statement of Ferishta one thing is certain that in the late 16th century Gwalior had already earned a reputation of being a celebrated centre of a school of music worthy of being specifically mentioned by a Muslim chronicler like Ferishta in his short introductory chapter on the history of the Hindus itself.*

Raja Man Singh (1486-1517) was a proficient composer as well as a munificent patron and many of his compositions still survive to justify the esteem in which they were held by his contemporaries.

The Dhrupad style of singing was developed by Raja Man-Singh and appears to have been very popular in the 16-17th centuries A. D. Raja Man Singh had a number of musicians at his court and one of his own queens named Mriganayana (a Gujarji by caste) was a proficient musician, so much so that four specimens of mixed modes (*Sankirna ragas*), for which the Raja had a special fascination, are named after her, viz., Gujarji, Bahul Gujarji, Mal Gujarji and Mangal Gujarji. The palace built for her by Raja Man Singh still exists in the fort wherein a fine museum of antiquities is now housed. Man Singh is also credited with the authorship of a book on music called *Manakutuhala*. This original Hindi treatise is said to contain records of the proceedings of a great conference of musical experts assembled under the orders of the Raja at Gwalior, a fact which seems corroborated by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* who says that three of Raja Man Singh's musicians, Naik, Mukshoo and Bhanu formed a collection of songs suited to the tastes of every class of people.† The *Manakutuhala* was translated into Persian by Fakur-ulla a manuscript of which is now with H. H. the Nawab Sahib of Rampur. Three of the masters patronised by Man Singh, viz., Bikshoo, Dhondee and Charjoo contributed a new type of Malhar to the stock of Indian melodies called after their respective names as "Bikshoo-ki-Malhar" "Dhondia-ki-Malhar", and "Charjoo-ki-Malhar". Bikshoo's name is also associated with a new variety of Bilawal and the melody "Bahaduri Todi". These artists subsequently passed into the service of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat.‡

*Briggs, Ferishta, vol. I, P.....

†O. C. Ganguly, *Ragas and Raginis*, P. 53.....

‡OP, Cil....

The school of music founded or encouraged by Man Singh later carried its influence to the then royal courts of northern India. The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives 36 names of the court singers with the emperor of whom 16, including the famous Tan Sen, hailed from Gwalior. Tan Sen was born at a village called Behat near Gwalior where he acquired his musical attainments under Ram Das Swami, a noted musician of his time. He first joined the court of Raja Ram Chandra, the Baghala chief of Rewa and remained there till 1562, when he was sent for by Akbar with whom he became a great favourite often called as Mian Tan Sen signifying clearly his conversion to Islam. He is known all over India as a vocal musician. It is said that with his melodies he had full control over nature and that he could light even candles by just singing a particular melody called Dipaka (the *raga* of the lamp) or that he could force the clouds to rain by simply singing the melody Malhar.

"It is generally believed in conservative musical circles, that Tan Sen was principally responsible for abjuring many old traditions and for introducing innovations and questionable novelties which led to the deterioration of the old Hindu system. "He is said to have falsified the *ragas* and it is stated that two, Hindola and Megha, of the original six have disappeared since his time. There is no doubt that Tan Sen introduced new *ragas* and new versions, or unconventional variations of old forms. It is well-known that Tan Sen was the first to introduce the E-Flat (*Komala Gandhara*) and both varieties of *Nishada* (B Flat and Sharp) into the *Raga Malhar* which came to be known as "Miyan-ki-Malhar". Similarly, he is the inventor of a new type of Todi known as Miyan-ki-Todi. The modified forms of Kanara known as Darbari Kanara are also attributed to him".*

Tan Sen died in 1595 A. D. and his simple tomb still stands at a short distance from the eastern gate of the historical fort.

The rigidity of the style of Dhrupada evolved by Man Singh seems to have become unpopular later and was replaced by a new style called Khayal (*i.e.*, based on imagination) which is the basis of the present day Hindustani classical music. With the decline of the Mughal Empire the Delhi court singers dispersed

themselves to various parts of India. Some of them were patronised by the rising dynasty of the Scindias in Gwalior. Gwalior thus again became one of the important seats of the classical Indian music, a reputation which it maintains even today.

The services of Gwalior to music were not confined to the patronising of noted musicians only. A regular institution was started in 1916 under the management of the Education Department of the Government. The Madhava Music College aims at the preservation and development of the science and art of classical music. The duration of the course at the College is seven years and Government diplomas are issued to successful candidates. The College enjoys a high reputation in the music world of India.

In the southern Madhya Bharat a few generations later than the time of Man Singh the art of music found another active patron in the person of Sultan Baz Bahadur of Mandu. The Sultan had almost given himself up to musical pursuits in company of his famous and beautiful Hindu consort Rupamati which eventually brought him to ruin. In spite of such a profound attachment to the art of music Baz Bahadur is not known to have made any original contribution to the science either as a composer or as an innovator of new melodies. He is known to have been specially interested in the Raga Bhupa. Rupamati is, however, reputed to have been a gifted composer and songstress though she too did not contribute any *raga* or melody of her own. A number of folk songs are attributed to her which are even now sung in the countryside of Malwa.

(D) Industrial Arts and Crafts

While in the realm of fine arts there had been such a commendable progress in ancient Madhya Bharat her contribution in the field of industrial or commercial arts and crafts was no less significant. The most ancient of these industrial crafts which has struggled to live, though in a much altered form, is the *Art of Stone Carving* in northern Madhya Bharat. The numerous temples built in this region in the medieval period must have provided a useful occupation to the class of stone carvers or craftsmen, now called *Pattharphod*. With the advent of Islam, by the 12th century, the art of carving, especially the making of the stone

images, must have received a fatal blow so that these craftsmen were now forced to orientate their craft to some other direction. This they did equally commendably in the direction of carving of stone screens or pierced stone works in numerous beautiful geometrical or floral designs for which they took considerable help from the earlier tradition of decorative *motifs*. The best evidence of this is found not only in the fort of Gwalior and in the later tomb of Muhammad Ghaus but also far in the south in the hill-fort of Mandu. The craft continued to flourish and thrive in the succeeding centuries under the patronage of the local Rajput chiefs of Gohad, Ater, Narwar, Chanderi, etc., as is still evident from the ruins at these places. The tradition which these industrious people had derived from the past continues to survive even now in the carving of brackets, pillars, and finely designed window screens or trellis work which still forms the high mark of the building art at, and in the countryside about, the city of Gwalior. Indeed any one passing through the main busy thoroughfare of modern city of Lashkar will be struck by the balconies, screened in various patterns, projecting into the crowded street though in a much less favourable setting. For a better artistic effect the screens in the Victoria College building in the outskirts of the city can be cited as the best examples. But the rapid change in the building technique and taste and the encroachment of cement in the trade have dealt a more fatal and effective blow to this indigenous craft which is thus facing almost an immediate extinction. Only a sympathetic patronage of the Government or of the affluent section of the population can help it survive in the face of such adverse circumstances.

Ceramics.—Of the other industrial arts that of ceramics dates back to the times when the Man Mandir of the Gwalior Fort was built, i. e. to the 15th century. The exterior of the Man Mandir is decorated with coloured tiles, which were probably made by a process very akin to the present practice. The colours are so good that they have resisted the ravages of wind and weather all these centuries. The tradition is continued in Madhya Bharat, where high-class ceramic ware is manufactured from local material. The Gwalior Potteries have recently forged one more link with the past, in as much as they have reproduced in ceramic material artistic images of the 10th century through

the courtesy of the Archaeological Department. The "Lady of Lotus" (as it is now popularly called) dating back to the 10th century and the image of the scantily clad pretty figure of a female of about the same period have been manufactured through the agency of a celebrated artist and have been commercialised by the concern. This will have the advantage of making available to the discerning public Indian archaeological decoration for their drawing rooms. The Gwalior Potteries have also started a scheme of decoration based on the elaborate frescos in the Bagh Caves of the 5th century. The work of modern artists also is being reproduced on vases and flasks and is being offered to the connoisseur.

Textiles.—The history of the Textile industry in India dates back to very early times; for references to cotton or silk cloth occur in our early literature. There are two ancient sites of textile manufacture in Madhya Bharat, *viz.* Chanderi and Maheshwar. Chanderi had been one of the key-points in the history of northern Madhya Bharat especially from the 10th century onwards. The place is further endowed with enchanting surroundings of hills and dales which have given its climate a humidity well suited to the needs of muslin industry. This therefore gave rise to the art of weaving fine fabrics, to which the occurrence of local sizing material in the shape of Koli Kanda contributed no less. It is said that in the old days the weavers of Chanderi ate no coarse food and the ladies did not do any work which would coarsen their hands. They are said to have grown long nails, in which slits were made in order to judge the fineness of a thread. The fabric woven at Chanderi is thinner than *gossamer* and has delighted the heart of many a generation of dainty maidens. The designs are the choicest and derive inspiration mostly from nature. The colour scheme is in keeping with the beautiful surroundings; and harmony in design and colour comes naturally to the weavers. The fabrics made at Chanderi were widely adopted by the courts of the erstwhile Rajas and Maharajas for being bestowed as gifts for acts of loyalty. With the coming of democracy, the industry had to be reorientated to suit the needs of the common man and the changing fancy of the lady of today. Modern technique is gradually being introduced and extensive marketing is being organized.

Another centre of flourishing textile industry is Maheshwar, the other ancient place in southern Madhya Bharat, where borders typical to the place have been evolved. The colour scheme and designs are more suited to the Maharashtrian taste and finds ready market in the south. The fabric is less fine than that of Chanderi, but has lasting qualities and can be washed freely. It is now being appreciated even in the northern markets, where inter-provincial tastes are the fashion of the day. A Government-owned factory is setting the pace in improved technique and new designs.

Places like Sarangpur, Isagarh, Ujjain, Guna, Raghogarh, Sheopur, Bhander, Chachoda, etc., have also textiles as a cottage industry, though the fabrics are more suited to the daily needs of common people and have hardly any distinctive character. Mention here should be made of the delightful designs in cloth printing available at Ujjain, Jawad, etc. It is not known how old the art of cloth printing is, but it can safely be said that it is not of recent origin.

Lacquer-ware.—Lacquer-ware had been flourishing in Madhya Bharat, wherever suitable wood is found. The well-known centres of this work are Sabalgarh, Sheopur, Ratlam, and Gujri. The artisans have found it hard to compete with the articles manufactured from plastic and rubber. But due to the efforts of the Madhya Bharat Government, articles in Government use, e. g. pen-holders, pin-cushions, blotters, rollers, etc., are being purchased from the artisans and the industry has thus revived to a certain extent. In Gwalior, recently an attempt has been made to decorate wood artistically and then to cover it with lacquer to make the design more permanent. Very pleasing effects have naturally been produced. Khachrod has another type of lacquer work, carried commonly on bed-stead legs, in which wood is covered sometimes directly with lacquer and sometimes with cloth, over which lacquer designs are worked. The allied decorative work on bamboo baskets covered with cow-dung paste is done at Shivpuri. Bamboo workers' art has also found expression in Chanderi, where very durable and artistically shaped articles are made from bamboo material.

Metal work.—Artistic metal work like that done in Rajasthan or in the south is not very common in Madhya Bharat, but utility articles were made since long ago from indigenous iron at Karera and Bajranggarh. Even the Adivasi or aboriginal areas excelled in metal work, which they mostly utilised for hunting and warfare. Their work took the shape of spear-heads, arrow-heads and the like.

Miscellaneous.—The list of cottage industries and handicrafts flourishing in this territory can be further multiplied. Mention is, however, made of important handicrafts. In all 125 or so of these industries are known to exist in the territory. Most of them have utility value and are not important enough to deserve mention in an artistic setting. As the standard of living of the population rises, the value of indigenous artistic articles is more and more recognised and as new markets open up, the future is bound to be bright.

Modern Industrial set-up.—Madhya Bharat does not glory only in its past industrial heritage, but has contributed much already to the industrial set-up in India. Its most important modern industry is textiles, which is followed by sugar, oil-processing, engineering enterprises, cement, biscuits and confectionary, matches, etc. A large-scale factory to manufacture rayon is under construction at Nagda. A very important line of manufacture is the making of machinery to manufacture textiles. Another noteworthy feature of the Madhya Bharat set-up is the existence of three state-owned industrial concerns inherited from the former Gwalior State. Rapid strides are made in opening Training-cum-Production Centres for cottage and small-scale industries. They already number more than 40 and will shortly be doubled.

So far as arts and crafts are concerned Madhya Bharat's heritage is something to be proud of. Its future is much more important. "The best is yet to be".

CHAPTER VI

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS OF MADHYA BHARAT

(Their general character, distribution, etc.).

There are few States in India which can claim so rich and varied remains of a glorious past as does Madhya Bharat. Surviving through all the vicissitudes of destruction and decay, a little less than 1,800 monuments, leaving aside the innumerable hosts of other movable antiquities, are still lying scattered in her countryside, though forgotten and forlorn, eager to tell the story of a heritage, stretching over a period of more than 2000 years, of which any people can justly be very proud. For all these centuries they had been watching the moving panorama of life, its changing ways and means; and if approached with the devoted attention and consideration they deserve, they can certainly be invoked to impart to us the true meaning behind the phenomenal successes and the tragic failures of our ancestors in which as a nation with an earnest desire for future progress we are bound to be interested.

Distribution.—There are in all 1,783 monuments so far explored and brought on the official list of the State Archaeology Department.* Of these the most important ones numbering 145 have been declared as monuments of National importance under the Ancient Monuments Preservation (Declaration of National Monuments) Act. This is by far the largest num-

*See D. R. Patil, *Descriptive and Classified List of Monuments in Madhya Bharat*, just published.

ber as compared with all the Part "B" States a distinction which Madhya Bharat has earned undoubtedly because of her vast and rich cultural heritage.

The monuments are spread over 467 places or villages out of about 22,000 villages or towns in the State indicating that out of every 5 villages there is one village which has still left with it something to say about its antiquity. District-wise the monuments are divided amongst the 16 districts of the State as follows :—

S. No.	Name of District.	Total number of monu- ments.	Total number of places.	Places of important or national monu- ments.
1.	Gwalior	165	38	Amrol, Gwalior, Pa- waya.
2.	Bhind	42	18	Aier, Kherat.
3.	Morena	116	36	Milaoli, Naresar, Pad- havli, Suhania.
4.	Shivapuri	381	89	Mahua, Ranod, Sur- waya.
5	Guna	277	58	Budhi Chanderi, Chanderi, Kadwaha, Terahi.
6.	Bhilsa	142	26	Badoh, Besnagar, Bhilsa, Gyaraspur, Pathari, Udaypur, Udaygiri.
7.	Rajgadh	7	3	
8.	Shajapur	33	6	
9.	Dewas	27	13	Nemawar.
10.	Ujjain	125	39	
11.	Indore	27	15	
12.	Ratlam	0	0	
13.	Dhar	204	42	Bagh, Dhar, Mandu, Sadalpur.
14.	Mandsaur	206	70	Dhamnar, Khor, Sondni.
15.	Jhabua	0	0	
16.	Nimar	31	14	Un.

It will be seen that in the matter of their geographical distribution the largest number of monuments, i. e., 381 is found in the district of Shivapuri while the smallest number is 7 in the district of Raigadh, there being no record for Jhabua and Ratlam districts. Regionally the northern Madhya Bharat is the richest, a fact which is better explained by its geography, especially by the ready availability of the sand-stone from its hills. Of the numerous historical places in this region mention may be made of Gwalior, Ater, Amrol, Naresar, Suhania, Padhavli, Mitaoli, Narwar, Surwaya, Kadwaha, Ranod, Mahua, Indhar, Chanderi, etc. Next to it is the north-eastern region of Bhilsa district which, considering its limited area and the importance of the monuments situated in it, is naturally the richest district in Madhya Bharat. The well-known places such as Besnagar, Udaygiri, Bhilsa, Gyaraspur, Udaypur, Badoh, Pathari, Kagpur, etc., are within this area. In the Malwa plateau proper the district of Dhar is obviously the best with Dhar, Mandu, Badnawar, Nalcha, etc., being placed within its limits. It will be noticed that in the more fertile tracts of the plateau such as in the districts of Ujjain, Indore, Dewas, Ratlam, Shajapur and Raigadh comparatively very few monuments are known to exist obviously because of the paucity of a lasting building material like stone. Like Bhilsa the north-western portion of Madhya Bharat comprising mostly the district of Mandsaur is also rich in monuments with places like the ancient Dashapura (Mandsaur), Dhamnar, Poladongar, Modi, Kohala, Khor, etc., being situated therein. In the narrow stretch of the plain on both sides of the Narbada stand the well-known archaeological places of Bagh, Nemawar, Un, Maheshwar, Barwani and others.

The chronological distribution of these monuments is equally interesting and informative. They are divided amongst the four broad chronological periods as follows:—

S. No.	Period.	Total number of Mo- numents.	Places of important Monuments.
1. Earliest time to A. D. 711	37	7	Gwalior, Pawaya, Tumain, Bes-nagar, Udaygiri, Pathari, Ujjain, Mandsaur, Bagh, Kasra-wad.

S. No.	Period.	Total number of Mo- numents.	Places of important Monuments.
2.	A. D. 711-1206	243	Gwalior, Amrol, Suhania, Padhavli, Mitaoli, Kherat, Naresar, Narwar, Surwaya, Kadwaha, Mahua, Terahi, Ranod, Indhar, Chanderi, Badoli, Pathari, Bhilsa, Udaypur, Gyaraspur, Bihar Kotra, Mandsaur, Khor, Dhamnar, Modi, Pola Dongar, Kohala, Dhar, Jamli, Dharmapuri, Nemawar, Badnawar, Un.
3.	A. D. 1206-1526	269	Gwalior, Narwar, Chanderi, Bhilsa, Bhonrasa, Dhar, Mandu, Sarangpur, Sadalpur, Nalcha, Ujjain, Mandsaur.
4.	1526—	437	Gwalior, Gohad, Ater, Sheopur, Narwar, Karera, Chanderi, Bajranggadh, Raghogadh, Shajapur, Sarangpur, Bhilsa, Udaypur, Bhonrasa, Mandu, Dhar, Mandsaur.

N. B.—About 800 monuments are undated.

It will be seen from above that from the view-point of antiquity and historical importance Bhilsa is the richest district in Madhya Bharat. The monuments here are mostly centred round the ancient city site of Vidisha, *i. e.*, at Besnagar and Udaygiri, a mile to the west. In the rest of Madhya Bharat the places of Pawaya, Kotwal, Gwalior, Tumain and Mahua in northern parts, Ujjain in the Malwa, Mandsaur in north-west and Bagh and Kasrawad (Maheshwar) in the Narmada valley also played their parts in the earliest period of history (earliest time to A. D. 711). In the second or early medieval period (A. D. 711-1206) historical and cultural activities were moving round the capital cities of Ujjain and Dhar in Malwa and of Gwalior, Narwar and Chanderi in the north. While geographical factors could

little encourage erection of lasting monuments in the plateau proper the adjoining tracts of Mandsaur, Bhilsa and Nimar having been under the same cultural or political influence witnessed such activity quite intensively as found reflected at the various places situated therein. The northern Madhya Bharat had all the facilities available for the erection of such monuments, especially temples, so much that we find a very large number of them still surviving in ruins in the countryside. The third period (A. D. 1206-1526) brings the impact of Islam in Madhya Bharat, felt more keenly by the fertile plateau of Malwa, still observed at Mandu, Dhar, Nalcha, Sadalpur, Sarangpur and Ujjain. In Bhilsa and Chanderi the same conditions were obtained as reflected in the numerous Muslim monuments at Chanderi, Basoda, Udaypur and Bhilsa. Though at Gwalior the Rajput chiefs were still holding on, for sometime, as will be noticed from their monuments in the fort, they had soon to succumb to it under pressure of the political conditions all around. The intensive temple building activity of the preceding period was no longer now in evidence so that the number of this kind of monuments had dropped down considerably. The history of the succeeding periods had also been much eventful from the archaeological view-point since the monuments are many and are no less important. The character of monuments also changes for in response to the political conditions of the time a number of forts and *gadhis* had come into being with palatial buildings or mansions built inside. This is much to be observed in the hilly tracts of the State in the north and north-west and in the hilly ranges of the Vindhya and Satpuras.

Religious history as told by monuments.—As is inevitable a very large number of these surviving monuments, about 750 in all, are religious edifices such as temples and mosques ready to unfold the rise and development of the various religious creeds and sects which have throughout history profoundly influenced our modes and ways of life. A systematic classification of these edifices and the way in which they are distributed all over the territory give out interesting facts about the religious history of Madhya Bharat.

Buddhism.—The three ancient cities of Mahishmati, Ujjain and Vidisha figure very often in the early Buddhist literature

and it is likely some of the devoted votaries of the new faith hailed from them. As is well known it was under the active patronage of the Mauryan emperor, Ashoka, that Buddhism rapidly spread all over India. Ashoka is reputed to have erected a large number of Buddhist edifices in the country of which there is only one faint evidence available at Ujjain in a mound called Vaishya Tekri, "the mound of the Vaishya", popularly believed to indicate the palace of the Vaishya queen, Devi, of the emperor, where remnants of a peculiarly large stupa were discovered in excavations a decade ago.

During the succeeding centuries Buddhism seems to have expanded rapidly in Madhya Bharat as elsewhere in India. Though Vidisha was a great centre of the orthodox religion, under the Shungas and later, the popularity of the new faith is amply reflected in the monuments of Sanchi and Besnagar, as at Ujjain and Kasrawad. There were, however, no great monarchs ruling in Madhya Bharat who had special attachment for the faith with the result that little of recorded or literary evidence is available to attest to the extent and popularity of Buddhism then in Madhya Bharat. Under the Guptas, it appears, Vidisha was a stronghold of Brahminism and at other places also Buddhism was losing ground. But even in this process of decline Buddhism has left over to posterity some of the brightest jewels of Indian art in the famous paintings of the Bagh Caves. The changes in the order of the faith are also evident here since the caves represent the Mahayana School of Buddhism.

After the close of the Gupta period in the 6th century Buddhism no doubt continued to flourish in parts of Madhya Bharat territory as is clear from the monuments of Gyaraspur, Dhamnar, Poladongar, Bigan, Kota, Rajapur and Khejadia Bhop. But the character of these monuments beacon to the fact that the faith of the Buddha could not now withstand the vigorous revivalism of the orthodox religion. The process of decline seems completed by about the 10th century A.D. after which date no archaeological or literary evidence is available about the existence of Buddhism in Madhya Bharat. There are, however, still 219 Buddhist souls left in the State today.

Shaivism.—The origin and history of Shaivism is shrouded in mystery. The earliest evidence for the existence of Shaivism

in Madhya Bharat is found in the stone images of Durga and of the Seven Mothers and the Ekamukha Lingas from Besnagar now in the Gwalior Museum. They have been dated to the early Gupta period of the 4th century A.D. though as observed elsewhere their date can be pushed back to a century. The rock-cut caves (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 17 and 19) at Udaygiri are Shaiva caves and are datable to the 4 or 5th century A.D. There are further the rock-cut images of the Seven Mothers in the same district at Pathari datable to the 5th century A.D. It is, however, interesting to find that of all 750, or so, temples so far recorded in Madhya Bharat, leaving aside about 180 sanctuaries, of which we do not know the sect to which they were sacred, nearly 240 are Shaiva temples, which is a fact of considerable importance in the religious history of Madhya Bharat.

The earliest of such Shaiva temples, remains of which have still survived, existed probably at Mandsaur and possibly at Tumain in the 4th or 5th century A.D. Mandsaur has given to us a very remarkable sculptural representation of Shiva and large fragments of a door-frame of a temple once sacred to the Shaivites.

It is however, during the succeeding centuries that the rapid growth and progress of Shaivism is most clearly marked in the numerous Shaiva temples, found all over the territory. Most of the earlier medieval temples of 7-9th centuries A.D. at Mahua, Terahi, Badoh, Gyaraspur, Amrol, Kota Kagpur and Indor, were dedicated to Shaiva deities. The Gadarmal temple at Badoh is the most interesting of these, since it was once dedicated to a number of goddesses, may be Yoginis, which is very rare to be found in Madhya Bharat or elsewhere. That Shaivism had grown to be a still more powerful and flourishing sect in the succeeding period of 10-12th centuries A.D. is obvious from the fact that most of the beautiful temples of this time in Madhya Bharat such as at Udaypur, Nemawar, Kadwaha, Un, Mitaoli, Suhania, Surwaya, Jamli, Badnawar, Naresar, Kherat, etc., still enshrine *lingas* of Shiva actively worshipped by the people. Some of these structures are sheer marvels in the art of temple building and stone carving and could not certainly have been raised without an inspiring faith and devotion which alone produce such great works of art. It seems the ardent propagators of

Shaivism had even gone a step further and evolved a monastic order credited to one of its celebrated sects called the Mattamayura, "the mad peacocks", whose habitats or monasteries are still seen at Kadwaha, Terahi and Ranod in Guna district. At Surwaya in Shivapuri district also there exists a similar monastery though it is not known, for certain, whether it belonged to this Shaiva sect. The Shaiva temple at Mitaoli in Morena district is rather peculiar in plan with a central shrine in an open circular court which in turn is enclosed by a range of small cells all round, numbering about a hundred, all enshrining *lingas* of Shiva. Though a solitary example of its kind in Madhya Bharat it clearly shows the elaboration and extent to which the creed had gone in those days. The great Mahakala Temple of Ujjain, sacked and destroyed by Iltutmish in 13th century and rebuilt later in the 18th century, need hardly be mentioned here in support of this apparent antiquity or popularity of Shaivism in Madhya Bharat.

Vaishnavism.—Archaeologically Vaishnavism is the earliest recorded sect in Madhya Bharat as is evident from the famous Heliodorus pillar inscription of 1st or 2nd century B.C. at Besnagar near Bhilsa. The inscription states that a Greek ambassador from Taxila at the court of the Shunga King of Vidisha (Bhilsa) had become a convert to the Bhagavata sect and raised a Garuda pillar in honour of the god Vasudeva.

That Vaishnavism continued to flourish at Besnagar later upto the Gupta period is evident from the sculptures of Nrisimha and Vishnu found from its ancient site and now preserved in the museum at Gwalior. Some of the rock-cut caves (Nos. 5, 8-13) at Udaygiri have enshrined in them images of Vishnu or his incarnations, the most notable of them being in the well-known cave No. 5 depicting the legendary scene of the Varaha incarnation of the god. It seems a Vishnu temple existed at Pawaya also in the 5th century A.D. since a few Vaishnava images and sculptures, notably the fragment of a carved lintel, depicting the legend of Bali's sacrifice and the figure of Trivikrama form of Vishnu, were recovered from there, now exhibited in the Gwalior Museum. Of the early medieval temples of Vishnu the most notable is the rock-cut shrine of Chaturbhuj Vishnu in Gwalior Fort with inscription referring to its excavation in A.D. 875

Almost in the same generation in A.D. 861 a temple, dedicated to the god Shauri or Krishna was built at Pathari in front of which was raised a large pillar which still exists with an inscription recording the facts above. The temple, however, does not exist now. Large temples of Vishnu were also raised in the succeeding 10-12th centuries A.D. at places like Gwalior, Badoh, Ghusai, Padhavli, Gudar, Indore and other places, remains of which are still seen on spot. But as compared with the overwhelmingly large number of Shaiva shrines, those in honour of the god Vishnu are quite small in number totalling hardly 87 in all. In fact this number does not compare favourably even with the 89 Jain shrines in the whole of the State.

Jainism.—Of the 89 Jain shrines or temples, so far recorded to exist in Madhya Bharat, the earliest are the rock-cut caves (Nos. 1 and 20) at Udaygiri in Bhilsa district. It may be, a Jain temple existed at this time at Besnagar also since an image of a Jain Tirthamkara has been found from this place now kept in the Gwallor Museum. The popularity or wide prevalence of Jainism in the Gupta period is not, however, much borne out by these solitary instances only. But in the succeeding medieval age of 8th to 12th centuries Jainism seems to have gained considerable following side by side with the more popular sect of Shaivism. This is amply reflected in the numerous temple remains at Badoh, Gyaraspur, Bhilsa, Budhi Chanderi, Narwar, Padhavli, Bithala, Rakhetra, Suhania, Dubkund, Gandhaval etc. Besides these, rock-cut images of Jain Tirthamkaras and divinities are also found at Chanderi, Barwani and other places. There is abundant evidence in literature also indicating the growing popularity of Jainism in the heyday of the Paramara rule in Malwa. It continued to flourish in later centuries in northern Madhya Bharat as is evident from the numerous and colossal rock-cut images carved on the face of the hill-fort of Gwalior and from the colossal images of the Tirthamkaras at Barai, 14 miles away to the south, all of them belonging to the 15th century A.D. Jainism still claims a large following in Madhya Bharat, there being a little over than a lakh of Jains in the State, as compared with the other States in India.

Islam.—The influence of Islam in Madhya Bharat becomes perceptible first in the 14th century A.D. in the early Muslim

monuments or mosques at Dhar and Bhilsa. It spread rapidly in the next century under the royal patronage of the Sultans of Mandu where a number of edifices were eventually raised. At the provincial or important towns of the Malwa kingdom such as Chanderi, Sarangpur, Ujjain, Sadalpur, Nalcha, Bhilsa and Bhonrasa Islam was treated with favour as reflected in the surviving monuments at these places. In the north also near-about Gwalior Islam received a good deal of following as is obvious from the mosques and tombs at Gwalior and Narwar. It will be observed that there are nearly 113 old mosques, large or small, on record to suggest that Islam had been quite a religion of consequence in Madhya Bharat during the last few centuries. As is stated above the Muslim population in Madhya Bharat comes to about 5 lakhs today.

Forts and Gadhis.—Leaving aside the religious monuments which dominate the field of archaeology in Madhya Bharat the most notable of the other classes of monuments are the 157 forts or *Gadhis* which occupy the various strategic eminences or hills in the State. Though they are more important from the viewpoint of the military history of Madhya Bharat, the inferences we may draw from their existence on the general conditions of the territory in historical times are no less significant. Though war was the concern of the few of the ruling or martial class, or of the general soldiery, it had its inevitable consequences on the life of the common man. The system of the military fiefs or chieftainships, which they often presupposed, may have wielded considerable influence on the life of general population.

For the military history of the State, however, they open out an interesting field for study. They generally consist of massive battlemented walls, strengthened by still more massive bastions at convenient intervals, and having gates, the number and situations of which differ with the individual forts. It has been observed that the gate at the highest point is often called as Hawa Paur or wind gate obviously from its more open situation which admitted of a good breeze from all possible directions. The other gates were often named after important towns or villages in the direction of which they actually faced. Being the main targets of all military attacks they were accompanied by structural

buildings inside to accommodate the guards and the watchmen and to afford necessary storage for military provisions and, in later days, for ammunition. In case of very important forts or, of comparatively exposed approaches, a series of gates were erected on the same approach to strengthen the defences of the fort. Along the battlemented walls, inside, ran a wide rampart for the rounds of the watchmen, or for the defensive positions and missile attacks by the garrison or even mounting heavy guns for firing on the besiegers below. The fort proper, it appears, was occupied mainly by the chief or military commander and his paraphernalia and military establishment and other followers the rest of the civil population residing in the villages or towns close to a convenient side of the fort. These outlaying areas were also often enclosed by fortification walls pierced with gates. In case of siege this acted as an outer defence work. If there was a protracted or hopeless siege the civil population could be allowed to seek refuge in the main fort. In certain cases deep moats, filled with water directed from some natural water reservoir or stream, ran either all around or along part of the fort walls. In certain forts the problem of a good water supply for the garrison, specially in dry seasons, always seems to have been strongly felt, as is clear from the ingeniously constructed wells within their limits. In certain important forts it is observed that, in addition to the defences of the fort proper, other fortified enclosures were erected around the main residential area of the chief of the defenders, obviously to offer the last 'do or die' resistance to the attacking enemy. This was generally called the Bale Killa or the core of the fort. In this residential area were raised the palatial or residential buildings of the chief and of his close relations, having their place of pride in the surroundings both in respect of their commanding situation and of their intrinsic architectural qualities. These are, in general, the main features of most of the numerous forts or *gadhis*; though they may differ a little here and there from them in relation to their respective surroundings, situation or strategic or political importance. Until the late historical times they had a grandeur and appeal of their own, playing an important role in the political or social life of their respective regions, though now they are slowly crumbling to ruins.

Of all these forts that of Gwalior is undoubtedly the most ancient and important, historically and archaeologically, with its history traceable to the 6th century, if not earlier. The fort of Mandu in the south is, in respect of its numerous and majestic ruins, even more interesting though the existing ruins here belong to the 15th or 16th A.D. There is no doubt the fort had come into prominence earlier in the Paramara period. The forts of Narwar and Chanderi also claim a celebrated antiquity figuring prominently in the political history of northern Madhya Bharat from the 11th century onwards. A majority of other forts came into existence in the troubled times of Muslim invasions in 13-14th centuries A.D. and quite many of them later during the time of the much dreaded inroads of the Marathas from the Deccan in the 17-18th centuries A.D.

Nearly 100 palatial buildings have been recorded to exist inside the various forts in the State. The most noteworthy of such buildings, from the view-point of civil architecture, are the great palaces in the forts of Gwalior and Mandu. The Man Mandir and Gujari Mahal of Gwalior are the finest and rarest examples of the Hindu architectural tradition while the Jahaz and Hindola Mahals and other royal buildings at Mandu represent the style of Muslims. A number of other buildings were, however, raised by the petty Rajput chiefs who within the limits of their resources, seem to have evolved their own peculiar style of architecture, much after the imperial residences of the Moghuls at Agra and Delhi. The ruins of palaces in the forts of Ater, Narwar, Sabalgadh, Sheopur, Gohad, Raghogadh, Athana, and elsewhere reflect to a large measure this late Rajput style which happened to influence the civil architecture of Central India right up to recent times.

Sati stones, Memorial Pillars and other funerary Monuments—Sati Stones.—There are 145 *sati* monuments singly or in groups found to exist all over Madhya Bharat. They range in date from the 6th or 7th century right down to the modern times. They are important from the view-point of that strange, though admirable, custom which has characterised the social history of India from very early times. The earliest *sati* stone found in Madhya Bharat is from Hasalpur in Shivapuri district which is now in the Gwalior Museum. It contains a few

damaged sculptural panels and a much worn-out inscription in later Gupta characters. *Sati* stones of a little later date have been found at Padhavli and Terahi, the inscription on the latter recording the death of the warrior in a battle with the Karnaivas probably reminding of the war between Shri Harsha of Kanauj and Chalukya Pulakeshin II of the Deccan in the 7th century A.D. By the 10th or 11th century they increase in number and frequency and are found spread over wide areas. They seem to have been erected in one common style though variations occur with regard to details. They usually consist of long flat stone slabs, not more than 6 feet in height, divided into two, three or even more sculptured panels with, in most cases, a short inscription in the bottom referring to their erection, the name of the ruling sovereign, the name of the village, the name of the *sati*, her relations, etc. The inscriptions are often found to contain dates. The sculptures on a *sati* stone usually represent the husband and wife either as standing side by side holding each other's hand or as seated worshipping a *linga*. The sun, the moon, a cluster of stars and a hand pointing upwards are depicted in the background to convey the idea that the fame of the *sati* shall endure as long as the sun, the moon and the stars. In most cases they are found to stand in the open though some of them of later dates are often seen sheltered under some small open pavilion or a simple domed structure. Though it is natural to presume that they mostly refer to the *satis* from the martial or warrior class, instances are not wanting in the State to suggest the adoption of the custom even by Brahmins and the lower orders of the society, such as the *Chamars* and the like.

Memorial pillars.—Corresponding to the *sati* stones are the memorial pillars which number 59 singly or in groups. They also likewise consist of stone slabs bearing sculptured panels and, in most cases, inscriptions, mostly dated, recording facts as in the *sati* stones. The sculptures on them usually represent a warrior killed in battle, his ascent to the Heaven after death, where he is represented either as seated on a pedestal or as reclining on a couch, and being served by celestial nymphs, and finally his deification where he is shown in the form of a bust with a crown or matted hair, holding a rosary of beads in one hand and a citron in the other. These scenes are depicted on the pillar in

different panels arranged one over another generally in the order given above. Some of the memorial pillars have an additional panel representing a row of cows and a man reclining on a bed. According to an inscription on one of such pillars, the scene implies that the man thus represented lost his life fighting in a cattle-lifting raid. Like the *sati* stones they are also found distributed all over the State throughout the same historical periods.

Chhatris, tombs or other funerary monuments.—With the advent of Islam and its inevitable influence on the Hindu society, especially in northern India, it is observed that in place of the ancient simple memorial pillars standing in the open, a practice had come into vogue, especially amongst the Rajputs, of erecting structures as a shelter or *chhattri* over them. They are often called as *chhatris* or cenotaphs of which 56 have been recorded to exist in Madhya Bharat. They do not date usually earlier than the 17th century A.D. and are not so magnificent in dimensions or proportions as is the case with the Muslim tombs. They are usually found to consist of open pavilions with a shapely dome, fluted or otherwise, in the style evolved by the Rajputs, supported or placed on a row of pillars. The *chhatris* in Madhya Bharat are not very imposing architecturally except, of course, the grand cenotaphs of the royal dead of the families of Scindias and Holkars at Gwalior and Maheshwar respectively.

There are quite a large number of Muslim tombs in Madhya Bharat numbering 10 in all. Of these the most important are the Muslim tombs at Mandu and Chanderi and the Tomb of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwalior. They are also found elsewhere at Narwar, Sarangpur, Bhonrasa, Bhilsa and other places. Nearly a dozen Christian tombs have also been recorded to exist in the State.

Wells, Tanks and Ghats.—There are 211 old tanks, ghats and wells in the various parts of the State. They were constructed apparently as measures of public utility and social welfare which have throughout ages been regarded as a meritorious cause. A well is often a necessary corollary of a temple and ancient temples are often found to have wells sunk in the vicinity. The older wells present no noteworthy architectural features. In later medieval or Muslim period, however, wells

are sometimes found to be very elaborately planned and constructed with built-in apartments in the walls of the interior of the well and with flights of steps leading down to water. The most interesting examples of such huge stepped wells are found at Mandu, Chanderi, Baodipura (Morena District), Bhonrasa and Burro (Bhilса District), Dhiakoni and Deokani (Guna District), Gwalior, etc. Some of these wells contain inscriptions referring to the facts of their construction and also to the ruling sovereign.

It is not known whether the old tanks were used for irrigation purposes. The dams or embankments enclosing them are often found to consist of huge boulders of stone set sloping along the margin of their beds, no mortar or cementing material being used in the masonry. Sometimes much better built *ghats* are also found for easy access to water. The oldest and most important of such tanks are found at Depalpur (Indore District), constructed by the Paramara king Devapala Deva in A.D., 1216 Badoh, Gyaraspur, Narwar, Dinara, etc., which also variously belong to 10-17th centuries A.D. The later rulers continued to evince keen interest in such public utility measures especially *ghats* along the sacred rivers like Kshipra (at Ujjain) and the Narmada, of which those built along the latter river at Maheshwar by the famous Ahilya Bai Holkar need hardly be mentioned here.

Sarais, Bridges and Dharmashalas.—Being placed in the central parts of the country the territory of Madhya Bharat must have been called upon to respond to the normal needs of trade and commerce by maintaining an effective line of communications consistent with the conditions of the times. The great trade routes connecting the northern and southern parts of the country inevitably passed through this region. In ancient times Vidisha (Bhilса), Ujjain and Mahishmati formed the important links joining the western coast, the Gangetic plains and the Deccan. With the shifting of the political focus from Magadha north-westwards to Delhi, in medieval and later ages, the whole of Madhya Bharat came in as an important communications link between the north and the south. Unfortunately there are no monuments to reflect this state of affairs, for the earlier period, though from the other historical sources it is quite well-known how Gwalior, Narwar, Chanderi and Bhilса fell normally on the

route to the south. The military campaigns of the Muslim invaders, like Altinash, Alauddin Khilji, etc., are often found directed along this route. A more concrete evidence is found in about a dozen *sarais* (resting or halting places), *dharmašalas* and causeways built mostly in 16th or 17th century A.D. by Sher Shah and his successors, the Mughals.

These *sarais* stand on the regular routes to the Deccan at convenient distances. The first *sarai* in the north is to be found at Nurabad, 12 miles north of Gwalior, which is even now on the Bombay-Agra national highway passing through Madhya Bharat. Southwards, about Gwalior itself, two or three *sarais* existed such as the Sagar Tal Sarai, Mullaji-ki-Sarai (now converted into Municipal quarters) and the Kothe-ki-Sarai, four miles south of the fort. It is well-known from Muslim chronicles how trade caravans and even military convoys were often held up by the daring highway-men and bandits of the hilly tracts of Gwalior, a fact which is very well explained by the existence of so many *sarais*, which were usually fortified, near the old town. The old route then passed through the present Sandalpur *ghati* or Pass (which is even now infested with robbers and wild beasts) with the Kothe-ki-Sarai, now on the road to Jhansi, to the north and the Barqui Sarai, a few miles on the other side of the Pass, to southwest. From Barqui Sarai it went further to Magroni, where there is a *sarai*, and from there to Narwar and Shivapuri with other *sarai*, in between, at a place called Bulha Dongar. Seven miles south of Shivapuri at Sesai is another *sarai* on the side of the main road, from where the old route went on to Kolaras eight miles further south. From Kolaras, it seems, a feeder route branched off to the famous historical town of Chanderi, where there still exists a *sarai* called Mehman or "Guest" *sarai*. The main route proceeded further southwards to a place called Nai Sarai and then to Kachnar, in the south-eastern extremity of Guna district, near Pachar (Ashoknagar) railway station, where too a *sarai* still exists. The next important stage on this route was apparently the town of Sironj now in the enclave of Rajasthan in Madhya Bharat. From Sironj the route, after touching Bhilsa, went to Pauvanala, with a *sarai* still existing at the place. The route then passed through the Bhopal territory and touching Madhya Bharat near Nemawar, on the Narbada, with the well-

known town of Handia on the opposite bank in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh, from where it went on to Burhanpur or Ashirgadh near Khandesh.

In addition to this there were other important routes to the Deccan and specially Gujarat in the west but few *sarais* exist to indicate their exact direction. The accounts of European travellers and the Maratha papers on their northern campaigns do supply a good deal of information on these other routes which it is not possible to deal with here in detail. The existence of *sarais* at Ujjain, Iklera (Indore district) and Fatehabad indicate some of the links on these routes. From the literary accounts, it appears, that there were two routes from the Deccan to the elevated plateau of Malwa through the mountainous ranges of the Sat-puras and the Vindhya, *viz.*, one *via* the Tanda pass (through which the modern road from Dhar to Bagh and Kukshi passes) and the other *via* the Gujri or Manpur pass. There is no *sarai* existing on the former route but on the latter route a well-built *sarai* called Kille-ki-Sarai still exists in the midst of the mountainous ranges on the road from Dhar or Mandu to join the Bombay-Agra road near Dhamnod. Like Gwalior in the north there are a few *sarais* at and near Mandu also apparently because of the importance of the place in the history of Malwa in 15th-16th century A.D. Of these the caravan *sarai* deserves specifically to be mentioned.

In plan a *sarai* generally consists of high enclosure walls enclosing a large open space strengthened by massive bastions at convenient intervals with rooms and halls built along the walls for the residence of travellers and for storage of their goods. They were used both by travellers and by the State military convoys for halting for the night. A number of *sarais*, built in former times, seem to have gone out of existence; but there is reason to believe that they were built at certain convenient distances of 10 to 15 miles, sometimes even less, if the situation so demanded.

Another interesting fact about the trade route to the Deccan is that three large causeways or bridges were also built by the Mughals one on the river Asan near Nurabad and other two near Magroni and Narwar on the Sindh river which are still in use, on the Bombay-Agra and Satanwada-Magroni roads respectively.



PART II

Brief Directory of Important Places of Archæological Interest in Madhya Bharat

(A) THE NORTHERN MADHYA BHARAT

1. Gwalior

Situated about 74 miles south of Agra of the Taj Mahal fame the fortress of Gwalior can be seen from a distance across the flat arid plain standing like a sentinel on the high road that passes by it from the fertile plains of the North to Central India. The fort is one of the most ancient and renowned strongholds in India with its history datable to about 5th century A. D. Legend has it that it was founded by a petty Rajput Chief, named Suraj Sen, at the instance of an ascetic, named Gwalipta, from whom the fort has derived its present name Gwalior, which was variously called in old days as Gwaliavara, Gopadri, etc. Whatever be the truth behind this legend, history records the existence of the fort in about 525 A.D., when it appears the Hunas conqueror Mihirakula was ruling over the surrounding region, as can be inferred from an inscription on a Sun temple which once existed on the fort. The subsequent history of the fort, however, becomes obscure for a time till the date 875 A. D. when it is clear from an inscription on a temple in the fort that it was included in the empire of the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj. During the troubled days of the Muslim invasions, Gwalior came under the rule of various Rajputs princes, such as the Kachhawahas, Pratiharas, etc. As stated in the inscription in the Sas Bahu temple, described below, the Kachhawahas were ruling over Gwalior in the latter half of the 11th century A. D. In 1232 A. D. the Muhammadans under Altmash reduced the fort after a fierce struggle, in which the brave Rajputs fought to the last man and their ladies consigned themselves to flames rather than submit to the

enemy. For a short while, from 1398 to 1516, the fort again fell into the hands of Rajputs named Tomaras, under whom Gwalior seems to have been the seat of a prosperous and flourishing kingdom. The most notable amongst them was Raja Mansingh, who was a great patron of architecture and music. Some of the important monuments on the fort belong to this period. After Mansingh, the fort fell into Muslim hands and later went over to the Mughals.

In 1528, Babar invested the fort and captured it. In his famous *Memoirs* he has left a very interesting account of the fort. The Mughals used the fort mostly as a State prison and, as in the Tower of London, only politically important prisoners, such as royal rebels, were kept in the fort. With the decline and fall of the Mughal empire, Gwalior passed into the hands of the rising Maratha Power represented by the Scindias in Northern India and except at some short intervals it had since been in their hands.

The monuments on the fort represent all the periods of this long history. The oldest monument on the fort undoubtedly was the Sun temple, erected by one Matricheta in the 15th regnal year of the Hunu conqueror Mihirakula in about 525 A. D. The temple has now completely disappeared, but it undoubtedly stood on the banks of the Suraj (Sun) tank, from where the inscription giving information about it has been recovered.

Next in date is the Chaturbhuj temple dedicated to the four-armed god Vishnu, standing half way up on the road leading to the fort from the Gwalior gate below. The temple is entirely hewn out of the living rock of the hill and consists of a square shrine with a spire on it and a portico in the Indo-Aryan style of early mediaeval period. As stated in the inscription in the temple it was constructed in 875 A. D. by one Alla in the reign of Ramadeva of the Imperial Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj.

The other Vishnu temples, two in number and hence popularly known as *Sas Bahu*, stand near the eastern rampart of the fort. Though later in date than the Chaturbhuj temple by more than a century, they are far more important architecturally and historically. From an inscription in the entrance porch it can

be stated with certainty that the construction of the temple was started some time before 1093 A.D. and completed in that year by the Kachhwaha Rajput prince Mahipala of Gwalior. The temple stands on a raised platform and faces north. As is common with the temples of this period, its plan consists of a sanctum, a pillared hall in front and three projecting porches, two on both sides of the hall and one in front, forming the main entrance to the temple. The sanctum in which the main object of worship, an image of Vishnu, was once installed has disappeared along with its outer facing and spire. There is no doubt that a lofty spire, which must have been about 100 feet high, once surmounted the sanctum and presented a very impressive spectacle in the surrounding region from a very long distance. The elaborately carved roof of the *sabhamandapa* is still in tact but giving a faint idea of the grandeur of the spire that once overshadowed it. Both the exterior and the interior of the temple are profusely carved with the various Indian decorative motifs and figure sculptures. The exterior of the central hall has undergone considerable repairs but much of the interior is still in tact. Both the doorways, one leading into the hall and the other into the sanctum, are exquisitely carved with figure sculptures. For example, the lintel of the latter bears three projecting panels sculptured over with the prominent Hindu deities, such as Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma, with the personified figures of the nine planets in the recessed intervals between them. The door jambs also consist of various moulding of floral designs and a number of figure sculptures below, headed by the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna. The interior of the hall is also profusely decorated. For example, its pillars and pilasters are covered with intricate arabesque work relieved by a few courses of figure sculptures. The central ceiling of the hall is also richly carved with the usual floral designs and with the well-known Indian decorative motif of *Kirttimukha* (face of fame) at the four corners.

The smaller Vishnu temple nearby belongs to the same age and style and does not need any special remark. There are a number of other temples in the fort, mostly in ruins, of which the Teli-ka Mandir must be mentioned here as being of particular interest. It is situated at a short distance from the Sas Bahu temple and is the loftiest of all the buildings on the fort, with a

height of above 100 feet. It was originally dedicated to Vishnu but there is no inscription in it from which its date can be ascertained, though on other grounds it may be safely assigned to the period between 8th to 10th centuries A. D. The most interesting feature of this temple is its lofty *shikhara* (or spire) which is peculiarly Dravidian (or South Indian) in style rarely found in North India. This is probably the reason why it later came to be called as Teli-ka (or Telengana) Mandir to suggest the Dravidian element in its spire. All the other decorative details, however, are purely Indo-Aryan or North Indian in character. As compared with the Sas Bahu temples it is much simpler in plan consisting only of a large oblong shrine with a porch in front. Its decorative details too are simple but vigorous showing a distinct contrast with the rather extravagant ornamentation of the Sas Bahu temples.

Chronologically the next notable monuments are the gigantic Jain sculptures carved on all the faces of the hill of the fort. The most important amongst them are those found on the south-western side near the Urwahi gate. They represent the nude figures of some of the 24 Tirthankaras or prophets in standing or seated postures. They are more remarkable for their colossal size than for their artistic merit and nowhere else in North India are such huge sculptures found in a large number. One of them, situated on the right side of the road, as one goes up to the fort from the Urwahi gate, is about 57' high. As most of these sculptures bear dated inscriptions they can be safely assigned to the 15th century A. D. when the Tomara princes were ruling over Gwalior.

The most notable achievement of these Tomara chiefs is, however, the palace on the fort known as Man Mandir (*i. e.* a palace built by Raja Man Singh). Its importance lies in the fact that it is the only existing example of a palace built in purely Hindu style. The most attractive feature of the palace is its beautiful facade facing east which, because of its commanding a magnificent view from the depth below, at once impresses the beholder with its grandeur and majesty. The facade stands on a lofty cliff of the rugged rock of the fortress at a height of 300 feet above the ground level below, itself about 300 feet long and 80 feet high, being relieved at regular intervals by six rounded towers of singularly pleasing design crowned with domed cupolas.

These cupolas were copper-gilt, when the Mughal Emperor Babar saw them in 1528, and with them flashing in the sun-light, this entire frontage and its bold patterns of various animals and natural objects in blue, green and yellow glaze, must have originally presented an even more charming spectacle than what they do now. Most of the tiles and mouldings together with much of the lattice work which once surrounded the double-storeyed balconies have disappeared, but enough is left to give a fair idea of the building when in its integrity.

At the southern end of this frontage is the main gate of the palace, called the Hatia Paur or elephant gate, which is itself a product of great artistic merit. After passing through it one is at once attracted to his right by the southern facade of the palace. It is 150 feet long and about 60 feet high and has three beautiful towers. In general appearance and design, there is little difference between it and the eastern frontage except that here the ornamentation is more picturesque and the decorative details more diversified than those on the eastern face.

The chief interest of the interior of the palace lies in its two artistic open courts with side rooms. The total area covered by the royal quarters is a rectangle measuring 150 feet by 120 feet and it is only in this much of space that the ground floor is divided up into about forty court-rooms and chambers. Because of the smallness of scale in its arrangement, the interior of the palace does not present a stately or palatial appearance; but this defect appears compensated by the rich and decorative appearance of the apartments that has been maintained both by means of moulded forms and coloured glaze.

The most striking feature of the palace is, however, the use of the mosaics built of indestructible glazed tiles. They are fine examples not only of architectural decoration but also of beautiful works of painting. Unlike the mosaics of the Lahore Fort, where there is an overwhelming Persian influence, these Gwalior mosaics are completely free from that influence, as is clearly evident from the peculiarly Indian character of the design of banana trees on the walls of the southern facade.

The peculiarity of the palace lies not only in the impressiveness of its situation but also in the marked individuality of its

architectural features that characterise the achievements of Raja Man Singh and may be stated to be distinctly Hindu in the generality of its style and conception. There is little doubt that its architectural treatment had much influence over the great Emperor Akbar who derived from it some of his ideas for the imperial residences at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri.

The same prince built another palace called Gujari Mahal for his favourite queen, Mriganayana, who was a Gujari by caste. It is a massive two storeyed edifice with plain exterior relieved by domed turrets and having a spacious court inside enclosed by rooms and halls on all sides. The building is now used for an archaeological museum containing a representative collection of antiquities from most of the important ancient sites in Madhya Bharat.

There are other old palaces to north of Man Mandir such as Karan Mandir and Vikram Mandir built by the Tomara rulers and later Muslim palaces erected under the Mughals, *viz.* the Jahangiri Mahal, Shahajahani Mahal, etc. They are architecturally of little interest but, situated as they are along the lofty edge of the hill, they present quite a pleasing spectacle from the old Gwalior town below.

Outside the fort to the east close to the Alamgiri gate is a pleasant building called Alamgiri mosque, built in the time of Aurangzeb. Further east-wards half a mile near the road is a fine tomb of Muhammad Ghaus, a well-known Muslim divine and for a time a preceptor of the emperor Akbar. It is an excellent specimen of early Mughal architecture, crowned as it is with an impressive dome with its side-walls filled with beautiful pierced stone screens of pleasing geometrical patterns. Close to this noble building is a small flat-roofed structure sheltering the remains of Tansen, one of the nine gems of Akbar's court and one of the greatest musicians India has produced. A little than a mile south from here, by the side of the main road from the station to the city of Lashkar, is a simple Samadhi or Cenotaph of the famous Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi who fell fatally wounded nearby in the course of a desperate action and was cremated on this spot.

2. Naresar

Hardly 10 miles to the north-east of the fort of Gwalior, as the crow flies, is a wooded valley at the upper end of which stand nearly 20 temples in the midst of an attractive natural scenery. In the valley proper is seen the deserted village of Naresar, or, what is called in an old inscription, Naleshvar. The monuments here are divided into three groups of temples, first one consisting of very small shrines with pyramidal roofs lining a rock-cut tank in the upper portion of the valley, the second on a hill flanking the northern side of the valley also consisting of similar small shrines and probably a few larger ones now no more, and the third lower below with the larger and more important group of temples at the place.

The tank above is now much silted up but it appears in olden times it must have been a delightful reservoir feeding a narrow rock-cut channel which rushed down the narrow mouth of the valley in a gentle water-fall thus affording an ideal situation for the monuments raised nearby. The small shrines, on its bank, are not much interesting architecturally except for their low pyramidal roofs rather uncommon in north India. There were similar shrines in the group No. 2 also some of which are still there on site. It seems one or two larger structures were also raised in the midst of this group to command a fine view of the ravine in front but only the basements of them with parts of door-frames are now left on spot.

It is, however, the third group, in a side of the lower portion of the hill, on the other brink of the ravine, that is more important architecturally. There are a little less than a dozen temples here on the different levels of the hill rather too close to each other and without a properly thought over scheme or plan. They consist mostly of a shrine and an ante-chamber without probably any porch in front. In proportions they are not so big as the temples at Gwalior, Suhania or Padhavli. Their *shikharas*, except in case of one, are in the usual north Indian style. The exteriors of their walls are, however, much sparingly adorned with figure sculptures. From these characteristics and from the inscriptions found in them they would seem to have been erected in the later medieval period of 11th or 12th |

centuries A. D. One of the temples, however, is surmounted by an interesting barrel-shaped south-Indian *shikhara*, much like the larger but more imposing spire of the famous Teli temple in Gwalior fort. Its shrine is, therefore, oblong in plan unlike the other shrines at the place. There is no doubt that it is contemporaneous with the other temples in the group, though its architecture would indicate some extraneous influence in its construction still to be satisfactorily explained.

A number of stone images of the mother goddesses with unusual names like Viara, Bhayayavati, Maghali, etc., as stated in inscriptions on their pedestals datable to 12th century A. D., were found from Naresar which are now preserved in the Gwalior Museum. From this and from the sculptural materials at site it is clear that they were built in honour of those Shaiva divinities.

3. Pawaya

Hardly forty miles south of Gwalior, the modern village of Pawaya is situated on the confluence of the rivers Sindh and Parvati and has been identified as the site of the ancient city of Padmavati, one of the capitals of Naga kings who flourished in third and fourth centuries A. D. The geographical and other environments of the city are vividly described by Bhavabhuti, the well-known Sanskrit poet, in his play the *Malati Madhava*.

The site of the old town is found studded with numerous stone antiquities and carved fragments ranging in date from 1st to 8th centuries A. D. Of these the life-size free-standing statue of Yaksha Manibhadra with a Brahmi inscription of about the first century A. D. is the most ancient. The place has, however, yielded a few artistic carvings and sculptures of the Gupta period such as an image of Vishnu, a two faced sun-capital, a palm capital, statue of a Naga king and a large carved fragment of a lintel of a *torana* gateway containing, in relief, beautiful representations of a "scene of dance", "scene of Bali's sacrifice", etc. All of them are now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior.

On both sides of the river Parvati, which joins here the river Sindh, are observed high and artificial mounds which conceal

banditti though he safely escaped from the mishap. The fort is built of mud, brick and lime and is rather irregular in plan. There are five inscriptions in the fort which give the information that its construction was started by the Bhaduria chief Badan Singh in 1644 and completed by the successor chief Mahasingh in 1668 A. D. The inscription mentions the name of the fort as Devagiri. It is said that alarming reports reached the Emperor Aurangzeb at Delhi regarding the strength of the defenses of the fort and its possible repercussions on the peace and order of the surrounding country and the then ruling chief had to allay these apprehensions of the Delhi sovereign by artful devices.

The fortifications consist of very strong massive and high walls strengthened by bastions at intervals and approached by only one series of gates facing west. It seems there was another fortified enclosure outside the walls, which are seen only in traces to the west.

The approach is through three gates the passage through them being well defended by high walls on both sides. After crossing the third gate is seen the main residential area of the chief and his family which occupied a substantial part of the fort. It is the buildings or palaces here which form the most important feature of the fort. They were built to enclose a large open court. To the east of the court are two large pillared halls called the Kacheri (the Private Audience Hall) and the Diwan-i-Am (Public Audience Hall). On the other sides are the main residential buildings. In the centre of the western apartments rises a lofty seven-storeyed tower constructed seemingly to exhibit the royal glory of the reigning chief, though it served also a more useful purpose of an effective military watch over the menacing ravines of the turbulent river. The tower still stands solid and sound offering the thrill of experience of observing the panoramic view of the surrounding country from its imposing top. The apartments below are in somewhat ruined condition but still indicate the taste for building and for the ways of living which formed the characteristics of all the Rajput chiefs of the time. The upper storeys, on the wings to the north and south, are adorned with pavilions with spacious terraces in front and with projecting balconies overlooking the depths below on the

other side. They are called respectively as Raja's mahal and Raai's mahal and are luxuriously decorated with stone screens and mural decoration in plaster.

5. Suhania

If Ater is the symbol of the historical greatness of the Bhadarwar, Suhania may be rightly styled the pride of the antique glory of Tonwarghar—the land of the Tomar clan of Rajputs. The name of this one time flourishing town is mentioned as Simha-paniya (the lions ?...) in the famous inscription of the Sasbahu temple in the fort of Gwalior. The antiquity of this place from the 11th century is thus assured and the great temple, which symbolises it, still stands erect, famished though it looks from miles around in the midst of a flat but fertile plain. The Gwalior record further informs that a remarkable, temple was built at Simhapaniya by the Kacchavaha king Kirttiraja, possibly in about 1000 A. D., and obviously this is the great edifice referred to. It is now called as Kakanmadh, "the temple of Kakan", said to have been built at the orders of a queen named Kakanvati who may have been a consort of the king Kirttiraja.

The edifice is built on a spacious platform and in plan consists of a sanctum or shrine proper, with a large pillared hall in front from which projects a graceful porch approached by a flight of steps. In the shrine is a Shiva-linga still in worship. Over the shrine is a lofty shikhara or spire, nearly 100 feet high, shorn of all its decorative and sculptured facings, which have now found their place in the open air museum at site and in the archaeological museum at Gwalior. The skeleton of the framework of the shikhara presents, with the roof of the hall in front still more severely smashed, a somewhat gloomy spectacle reminiscent of a fate common to all the material survivals of vanished glory. An imaginative visitor will appreciate the art and age, which this edifice signifies, much better, if, he imagines himself standing before it, in the life of the place, when it was freshly built in the 11th century A. D. The pillared hall or Sabha-mandapa of the temple is somewhat better preserved though its two storeyed pyramidal spire is now in a much shattered condition. The pillars in the hall are massive, tall and majestic, covered

with fine decorative carvings and figure sculptures. It seems the temple was originally surrounded by a number of attendant shrines only traces of which are now seen.

Besides the Kakan Madh there are also a few other monuments at Suhania. Of them the medieval temple of goddess Ambika, with evident signs of later additions and repairs, stands close to the western border of the village. A monolithic pillar is also to be found at a short distance of this temple. To the north-east of the village, two furlongs away, is seen a solitary colossus of Hanuman once enshrined in a temple, only ruins of which are now left at the spot. South of this pillar stands a Jain image locally known as Chaitnath.

6. Padhavli-Mitaoli

According to tradition the flourishing days of Padhavli were contemporary with those of the neighbouring town of Kutwal (6 miles north-west) or ancient Kantipuri, one of the three capitals of the Nagas who ruled over this part of the country in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. No monument or epigraphical record has so far been discovered here which could support this tradition. But numerous ruins of temples, wells and memorial pillars of the medieval period (800—1200 A. D.) at and near Padhavli testify to its greatness and importance during these days.

The chief objects of interest at Padhavli are (1) the old temple in the Gadhi, (2) the Chhau Kua, (3) the ruins of Jaina temples and (4) the numerous ruins of Brahmanical shrines, sculptures and wells in the Bhuteshwar or Bateshvara valley.

The Ancient Temple in Gadhi—The inner enclosure of the Gadhi, which stands a few hundred yards to the north-west of the village is built on an earlier platform which originally supported a large temple with a number of attendant shrines. A portion of the north face of the platform is still exposed to view. The Gadhi which is of a much later date than the temple is said to have been constructed by the Jat Ranas of Gohad some two centuries ago when the temple had already fallen into disrepair and decay.

The principal temple consisted, as usual, of a shrine, a hall and an entrance porch. The shrine is now badly ruined and

vacant. The Sikhra or spire which must have been tall and imposing has totally disappeared. The idol in the shrine and also the door-frame having been lost, it is difficult to say for certain to which god the temple was dedicated. However, the prominence given to the images of Shiva among the sculptures would seem to indicate that the temple was sacred to that god.

Panels of sculptures which adorn the faces of architraves and friezes in the interior are the most interesting feature of this temple. The subjects depicted include various gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon and mythological scenes from the Ramayana and the Bhagavata. Of special note are Shiva and his attendants, Surya (sun-god), the three principal gods of Hindu Trinity and the goddess Kali which respectively make the southern, western, northern and eastern friezes. The attendant shrines are now extinct with the exception of the remnants of two that can be seen at the north-west and the south-west corners of the inner enclosure of the Gadhi.

In the absence of any contemporary inscription, the temple may only approximately be assigned to the 10th century A. D. The existing inscriptions on this temple are mere pilgrims' records of later times.

The Chhau Kua is a large well so called as it is covered with a roof. It is nearly a furlong to the west of the Gadhi. Attached to the well is a small ruined shrine, now empty, of about the 8th-9th century A. D. A loose worn-out sculpture of a mother goddess with child, which is placed against the platform of the well, probably belongs to the shrine. The well may or may not be contemporary with the shrine but the roof which covers the well is certainly a later repair.

To the west of the village on the western face of a hill and on its top are the ruins of a few Jain shrines with some stray sculptures. These, as well as some other Jaina shrines and images around the village, show that Jainism once wielded influence here.

The Bhuteshwar or Bateshvara Valley is about three quarters of a mile to the south-west of Padhavli. The whole of this valley is studded with a confused assemblage of innumerable ruins of Shiva and Vishnu temples, mostly small shrines. Only one of these temples is still used as a place of worship. It is the largest

the remains of the old town of Padmavati. One of the mounds, a short distance from the northern bank of the river, was excavated a decade ago by the Archaeology Department. The excavations have revealed an interesting terraced brick structure consisting of three platforms, placed one above the other, receding in dimensions in a suitable proportion. The facing of the brick-work is mostly plain except for two courses of recessed panels, on all sides of the middle platform, flanked by ornamental pilasters with vase-shaped pedestals. Above these panels is seen a line of miniature arches corresponding to the well-known *chaitya* design of ancient architecture. It seems the brick-work was once covered with a thin layer of lime plaster few traces of which are now seen on the monuments. The masonry was done in mortar prepared with an admixture of clay and fine sand.

It would be seen from the remains that the top platform once supported a superstructure, which should have been the shrine proper, the remains of which are not traceable now. It may be, it was a flat-roofed structure made up of timber, brick and lime and hence left no imperishable and perceptible ruins behind. If this was the case, the two platforms below, it seems, served the purpose of a path of circumambulation, "*Pradakshina-patha*", all around the structure. There is only one place in India where such a terraced brick temple was found, that is at Ramnagar (ancient Ahicchhatra) in Bareilly District of Uttar Pradesh. It is probable that the temple, if any, was sacred to Vishnu as an image only of that god was discovered in these excavations. The site has, however, yielded a number of beautifully modelled terra cotta figures and figurines which, it seems, were once used for the surface decorations of the side walls of the temple. They consist mostly of busts and heads of human figures with a pleasing variety in their facial expressions and in their arrangements of hair. They indicate a mature development of the plastic art of clay-modelling in the Gupta period and can very well be compared with similar terra cottas discovered at Rajghat near Benares. They are now exhibited in the Gwalior Museum though a few of them are also kept for exhibition at the site.

The narrow eminence of land between the two rivers at their confluence was later used for a structural fort still existing in miserable ruins. The innumerable bricks available from the

ruins of the ancient town were here freely used for the walls of the fort. The original fort is said to have been constructed by the Paramaras in mediæval times though it was later improved upon and named as Askandarabad in the time of Sikandar Lodi, Sultan of Delhi. The landscape all around this ancient site is seen marked by about a dozen *magbaras* or tombs, scattered all over, apparently raised during the palmy days of the Sultans of Mandu in the 15th or 16th century A. D.

About two miles to the west of the site of the ancient city is the temple of Dhumeshvara Mahadeva said to have been built by the Bundela Raja Birsingh Deo of Orchha in the early part of the 17th century A. D. The temple is a fair example of Bundela architecture and occupies a very picturesque position overlooking a roaring waterfall in the river Sindh referred to by Bhavabhuti. Contemporary with this temple is a spacious open platform, built on rock, in the bed of the river, just above the waterfall whence visitors can enjoy the view of the delightful river at its best.

4. Ater

The country round about Ater and Bhind is known as Bhadarwar, the land of the Bhaduria clan of Rajputs, a warlike people who have largely influenced the history of this region in the past few centuries. The old town of Ater is situated on the southern bank of the river Chambal whose undulating and deep ravines, spreading over extensively along the valley, are mainly responsible for the war-like spirit of the inhabitants. The fort of Ater is an embodiment of this spirit, situated as it is in the midst of the rugged ravines on a great eminence overlooking the river which when furious with floods lays siege to the fort itself.

As a structural fort it must certainly have been a very important stronghold in the territory of Madhya Bharat commanding a strategic position facing the great river plains beyond the Chambal. The accounts of Muslim chroniclers suggest how Governments in historical times had often apprehended or experienced disturbance of peace or order from this quarter. Even as early as 1548 A. D. Salim Shah Soor, the Afgan king, while on a diversion of chase to this side was waylaid here by a

standing temple in the locality and is called the Bhuteshwar Mahadeva temple from which the valley derives its name.

Most of the small shrines have their side-walls composed of single slabs placed on edge and porticos resting on two advanced pillars. They are covered with flat roofs consisting of single slabs but originally may have been further crowned with small spires which have now disappeared.

In the midst of these shrines is a small square tank or step-well probably of the same age as the temples, but repaired in later times, as old images have been built promiscuously in the retaining walls.

Two miles east of Padhayali is the village Mitaoli which also contains some remains of the medieval period. The most notable of them is a large circular structure on the hillock close to the village seen from miles away. The structure is locally called Ekottarso Mahadeva Mandir or "Temple of Mahadeva with 101 lingas", though the number of lingas enshrined is a little less than that number. The plan of this temple is rather peculiar rare to be found elsewhere. It consists of a central circular shrine, facing east, placed on a circular raised plinth in the centre of an open and circular courtyard enclosed by a range of small cells against a pillared verandah facing the court inside. To the east is provided an entrance to the court. The cells are much smaller and enshrine lingas of Shiva. They number a little less than a hundred which would not justify the popular name of the temple.

At the foot of the hill close to the west of the village ruins of other temples and images are noticed.

7. Narwar

Though now a forlorn and desolate town, little in touch with the civilized world, situated as it is in the midst of mountain ranges, Narwar was in historical times a seat of a great chieftainship to which the royal family of Jaipur is very closely related. According to the local belief and tradition, in ages gone by, it was a capital of the great king Nala, the hero of a romantic episode of our national epic, the Mahabharat. Whether the legend is legion or true the town was called as Nalapura in about the 12th

century A. D., as is obvious from references to it in the Sanskrit inscriptions found in the region.

Like Gwalior, the hillfort of Narwar played quite an important role in the medieval and Muslim history of India and was variously under Rajput and Muhammedan rulers. The Kacchavahas had always regarded it as their homeland and historically they were the earliest masters of the fortress, though the fort changed hands with other clans like the Tomars and the Jajapellas. There must have been a good deal of building activity in this period such as the building of temples, Hindu or Jain, but nothing of them is now left in the fort itself except a few traces of shrines near the Hawapaur gate. In the town below the fort, however, are lying concealed, in an underground cellar, about a hundred Jain images showing little of the mark of destruction on them.

The situation of the hill and the height of its flat top of about 500' above the level of the surrounding ground have given to the fortifications an added strength. The hill is 5 miles in circuit along which runs a strong and battlemented wall now seen breached at a number of spots. The fort is accessible through two approaches one to the west, now not in use, and the other to east facing the town below. The eastern approach passes through a series of gates, variously named, the uppermost gate being called the Hawapaur, built in the time of Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia. The area in the fort itself is divided into four fortified enclosures called Maj-loka (the central enclosure), Madar Ahata, Gujar Ahata and Dhola Ahata, each having a peculiar historical significance behind its name. It is in the Maj-loka that the important existing monuments are situated. These monuments are directly accessible from the Hawapaur gate and consist mainly of the palaces built by the Rajput rulers of Narwar during the last 300-400 years. Of them one is called as Kacheri Mahal which has been converted into a Dak Bungalow. Perched on the eastern verge of the fort, it commands a spacious view of the valley of the Sindh stretching below.

Other buildings of note in the group of Mahals are the Ladau Bungalow and the Chhip Mahal. The latter is so called from a *chhip* or large monolithic cistern which is built into its terrace and which was probably used for pleasure bath.

The most interesting of the several tanks on this fort is Makaradhwaja Tal which is surrounded with a massive retaining wall and ghats. It is now dry and the deficiency of water is compensated by numerous wells called "Atha Kua and Nau Baodi" sunk in its bed.

There are a number of mosques on the fort most of which bear Persian inscriptions, the largest of these being Sikandar Lodi's mosque near the Kacheri Mahal. There is also a tomb of a Muhammedan saint named Madar Shah.

There is on the fort a Roman Catholic chapel with a cemetery containing a few ruined tombs of European gunners who were in the employ of the Rajas of Narwar in the 17th century.

A few large old guns are lying in the ruins of the fort some of which bear inscriptions. The more important of them are named Shatru Sanhar, Ram Ban, Narwar Ban and Jaldhar.

Down below the fort, the Jait Khamba pillar stands about a mile to the north of the town and is of interest only because of an inscription which it bears, recording the genealogy of the Tomara kings of Narwar and Gwalior. Close to this pillar is an interesting Sati monument of one Prahlad Das, a Brahman preceptor, who accompanied one of the Kachhwaha Rajas to the Deccan and was killed in a battle in that distant province. His two wives cremated themselves along with a plaid of their deceased husband. Narwar possesses two Armenian tombs. One of them is in a field about a furlong to the south-west of the Jait Khamba pillar and the other is in the town not far from the Rest House.

A small kiosque, supported on a single monolithic pillar and therefore known as Ek Khamba Chhatri, stands in the town just at the junction of the road leading to the fort. It bears a Hindi record commemorative of a visit of Maharaja Danlat Rao Scindia.

8. Surwaya

In the heart of the woodlands near Shivapuri, to its west, is the village Surwaya or what was in old times known as Sarasvatipattana (the city of the goddess of learning or Saraswati). The woods about the village are long known for the

wild games such as panthers and even tigers. There is no evidence left to posterity to know whether this was once a seat of learning. This much is, however, certain that the place was once a seat of the ascetics of a religious order as can be judged from the old monuments in a fortified gadhi close to the village.

The gadhi is quite an unassuming structure and is not so old and important as the religious monuments which stand within its precincts. It has only one approach through a series of two gates in the western wall, and its fortifications are now in an advanced state of decay. Inside the gadhi is another enclosure containing the monuments mentioned above. In the south-eastern portion of the enclosure is a monastery meant for the residence of the Vaishava or Shaiva sects. The structure is provided with a small open court surrounded by corridors and with a large hall and a number of rooms. Part of it is two-storeyed. Huge slabs of stone have been used for roofing purposes and being meant for residential use little of carving is found on the pillars and doorframes,

By the side of the monastery are a group of temples built on a paved plinth. There are at present only three temples seen in ruins in the area though it may be a few more existed. The shikhara or spire which is the most distinctive member of a temple has disappeared here in case of all the temples. The fallen material is now seen arranged in the open space in front giving but a faint idea of what the structures originally were like.

Of these three temples the one to the east is somewhat in a better condition of preservation. It consists of a shrine with a porch in front. The doorway of the shrine bears very rich carvings and figure sculptures. The most notable of the ornamentation of the temple is found in the ceiling of the porch. The carving here is of a very high order and is superbly artistic. The temple, it seems, was once dedicated to the god Vishnu as the figure of that god is found on the central portion of the lintel of the doorframe of the shrine. The linga now worshipped inside belongs to a later date.

The solitude of the place with the wild jungles roundabout lends to it a peculiar enchantment especially in an agreeable part of the year, *i. e.* in rainy season and autumn. To the ascetics

it must have been once an ideal spot for their religious meditations and practices. The temples were certainly built primarily for their use.

9. Kadwaha

Though now comparatively inaccessible, the village of Kadwaha must have been a flourishing place, as is clear from the more than dozen interesting temples of the mediaeval period still existing scattered in small groups on all its sides, within the radius of a mile or so. The antiquity of the place dates from the 10th century when it seems it was known by the name of Kadambaguha, as is clear from a contemporary record recovered at the ancient monastery in the village.

The monastery is a little interesting for the history of Shaivism in these parts, for the inscription found there clearly suggests that it was built for the ascetics of the Shaiva sect known by the name of Mattamayura or "Mad Peacock" the significance of which is not, however, quite clear. The widespread influence of this sect is attested by similar records and monasteries being found in the territories of Madhya Pradesh also. The structure here is built of huge blocks of stone with large slabs being used for roofing purposes. Round the monastery was later constructed the *gadhi*, now in ruins, some time in the 15th century probably to protect the inmates of the monastery. The monastery was once attached to a temple of Shiva nearby which is still at the site nearly half-buried in ground. To the south of the village is an old silted tank on the bank of which the largest and most important temples in the area were built. Some of them still exist and are locally called as Murayatas obviously indicating their connection with the Matta-mayura sect referred to above. One of the temples is very well preserved and represents some of the best characteristics of medieval temple architecture. It is built on a raised platform and consists, in plan, of a sanctum or shrine proper with an ornate porch in front surmounted by a well-carved pyramidal roof. It has no pillared hall or *sabha-mandapa* which is usually found in the temples of the period elsewhere in Madhya Bharat. On the other sides of the village there are ruins of old temples of which the one called Chandal Madh is probably the most interesting.

10. Ranod

Ranod, a large village (now decaying), was once a centre of Shaiva worship and seems to have possessed a number of temples and at least two monasteries in the medieval period. It was also an important place during the Muhammedan period as appears from the ruins of the mosques, tombs and wells of those times in the neighbourhood of the village.

The existing monuments of interest at Ranod are (1) Khokhai Math, (2) image of Naga Deva, (3) Jhinijhuria mosque, and (4) a grave stone.

Khokhai Math.—Though now used as a temple, this building was originally a monastery of Shaiva ascetics as is recorded in the large Sanskrit inscription on it, and confirmed by the form of the structure. The inscription tells us that the monastery was built by Purandara, a religious preceptor of king Avantivarman, and was extended by Vyomashiva, a disciple in the fourth generation from the original builder. It is recorded that Vyomashiva also built the tank Chopda which is seen still in front of the monastery, and around it a number of temples (which no longer exist). The inscription is undated but can be assigned to about the 10th century A. D., on palaeographical grounds. It evidently belongs to the time of Vyomashiva and allowing an average of 25 years for each generation, the original builder and building would be about a century earlier. The inscription gives Ranipadra as the ancient name of the place. It also gives a number of ancient place-names such as Upendrapura, Mattamayurapura, Kadambaguha and Terambhi, the last two of which may be identified with the modern Kadwaha and Terahi which are in the neighbourhood. The line of Shaiva ascetics to which the builders of this monastery belonged, appears to have been very well-known and influential. They have left inscriptions at various places, e. g. at Siyadoni near Lalitpur, Bilhari near Jubbulpore, Chandrehe near Rewa and a fourth inscription now in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior. Monasteries very similar to Khokhai now existing in various states of preservation at Surawaya, Kundalpur, Kadwaha and Terahi in this part of the country, are probably works of these same ascetics.

Naga-deva or serpent god is a well-carved image representing two large cobras coiled round each other and stands on the bank of the Airapat river, a short distance to the south of the village.

The Jhinijhuria mosque, so called from the jhinjhiri or perforated stone screen which encloses its grave-yard, is a small well-built mosque now deserted and dilapidated. It stands a few hundred yards to the west of Khokhai.

The grave-stone referred to above belongs to a tomb known as Chaharun-Bibi-ka-Roza situated on the southern outskirts of the village. The only feature of interest about it is its design which is that of bedstead.

11. Terahi

Village Terahi is five miles north-east of Kadwaha or eight miles south-east of Ranod by cart-track and may be visited from either of the places.

It was a centre of Shaivism in the medieval times and possesses ruins of a few temples and a Hindu monastery of that age. An old Sanskrit inscription at Ranod gives its old name as Terambhi of which Terahi, the modern name, is a corruption. The most interesting of the monuments to be seen here is the *Torana* gateway of an 11th century temple of a goddess locally known as Mohajmata. The temple is now a mere wreckage but the archway is almost in perfect preservation. Somewhat heavy at the top, it is still a beautiful specimen of a decorative gateway of a medieval Hindu temple. In the compound of the temple is lying an inscribed memorial pillar of a warrior killed in a battle which was fought in the neighbourhood on the banks of the Madhumat (modern Mahuwar) river in V. S. 960 (A. D. 908). Two other memorial pillars which record the death of warriors in still earlier battles (Circa 7th century A. D.) stand just outside this compound. The monastery is now enclosed in the ruins of a modern *gadhi* or fort in the village. Near the monastery there is also a Shiva temple of about the 11th century fairly well-preserved but partially concealed under the ground level.

Among other relics a big Shiva linga with eight faces carved on it, a large image of Ganesha and a fine Jaina Chaumukha lying loose in jungle on the south of the village deserve mention.

12. Mahua

Within the limits of Mahua, a small hamlet 4 miles east of Kadwaha and one mile south of Terahi, stand the ruins of three temples. One of these is a small Mahadeva temple consisting of a shrine room and a porch. The spire has disappeared. There is some good and vigorous arabesque work and figure sculptures on the exterior faces of the shrine and a Sanskrit inscription on the front lintel of the porch which though undated is assignable to about the 7th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds. Almost contemporary with this are the other Mahadeva temple which is bigger in size and also better preserved, and the small dilapidated shrine sheltering an interesting life size idol of Kali.

13. Chanderi

The modern town of Chanderi is situated in the midst of a small and isolated tract of fertile plain, circumscribed by hills, ponds and woods all around which have made its situation very picturesque and inviting. The scenery is most charming a little after the rainy season when the countryside is more easily accessible and the dense woods ready for a wild game if one is keen to have it. On one of the hills facing the town stands the old fort and for miles around are scattered numerous structures in ruins signifying the faded glory of an erstwhile prosperous town.

History.—Local tradition would have us believe that Chanderi was the capital of the Chedi country ruled once by Shishupala the famous rival of the venerable Lord Krishna of the Mahabharata which, however, does not mention the name of the town. There is another deserted village in the heart of a dense and wild forest, 8 miles north of this town, which is known as Budhi Chanderi or "older Chanderi", which, too, from the scattered remains at its site, datable to 10-12th centuries A. D., may not make a positive claim for such an honorable antiquity. The present town also may trace its antiquity to the 11th or 12th century when it is said in inscription found in the town that a Pratihara king named Kirttipala built a fort named after him as Kirtti-durga, possibly the ancient name of the existing hill fort. This record itself mentions the name of the town as Chandrapura

and, if there is anything in a name, it would seem plausible that its original foundation may be attributed, as says another local tradition, to the Rajput dynasty of the Chandellas, who, it is known, traced their ancestry from the moon-god Chandra himself.

From the time of the Pratihara king the history of Chanderi comes more into the limelight. Balban invested the town in 1251 leaving no lasting impression of his invasion. In 1304-5 Ain-ul-Mulk, the noted general of Alauddin Khilji, the Delhi Sultan, effected the final conquest of Malwa including Chanderi. In 1401 Dilawarkhan Ghori, the Malwa governor, declared independence and thenceforward Chanderi became one of the most important Subas or provinces of the kingdom of the Malwa Sultans. It was in this regime that Chanderi rose to prosperity and importance as reflected in numerous remains seen roundabout the town. In the declining days of the Malwa Sultans Medini Ray, their forsaken minister, took over possession of the fort, soon to be conquered after a fierce struggle by the Mughal emperor Babur in 1527 and made a part of the Mughal empire. Under the Mughals Chanderi was an important head-quarter of a Sarkar of the Suba of Malwa but it slowly began to decline in importance. With the downfall of the Mughal empire the Bundela chiefs who were appointed to be the governors of Chanderi assumed independence. They ruled as independent chiefs till 1815 when the Scindias effected the conquest of Chanderi for themselves.

Monuments.—The monuments at Chanderi may be divided into five groups for the convenience of visitors, viz.—(i) The fort, (ii) The town proper, (iii) The monuments in the outskirts of the town, (iv) The Koshak Mahal at Fatehabad, (v) The Palaces at Panchamnagar and Singpur.

The Fort.—The hill of the fort is 200 feet above the level of the town and is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide. The fortification walls, now seen in ruins, were constructed largely by the Muslim rulers of Chanderi. The older defense works of the ancient Kirttidurga, constructed by the Pratihara kings do not now exist in any form. The main approach to the fort is through a series of three gates, the lower most being called as Khuni Gate while the uppermost is known as Hawa Paur. The name Khuni

(or bloody) gate may be reminiscent of the bloody events which its position often gave it to witness in the history of the fort. There are only two ruined buildings in the fort called as Hawa and Naukhanda Mahals, built by the Bundela chiefs and architecturally of not much importance. The most attractive spot on the fort is a decent Rest House built on the northern ridge of the fort from where no visitor will fail to enjoy the enchanting views of the town and the countryside around. Nearby is a spot where it is said the Rajput ladies committed the famous Johar, i. e., (consigned themselves to flames) rather than fall alive into the hands of the enemy in the fierce battle between the Rajput chief Medini Ray and the Mughal emperor Babur. A tiny pavilion with a beautifully carved sati stone inside has been now raised on the spot in honour of the event.

The Town.—The town was itself fortified with a strong battlemented wall 10 to 12 feet wide, provided with five gates and two narrow entrances called Khidkis or windows. The main gate facing the north is called as Dehli gate and has an inscription which says that the city wall and the fort were built in 1411 A. D. under the Malwa Sultans. The important historical buildings in the town area are the Tombs of Nizamuddin's family, and Badal Mahal gateway and the Jama Masjid. The tombs are of special interest for the finely executed stone screens seen in parts of the building. The Badal Mahal Gateway is a double arched entrance with circular and tapering bastions at sides the total height of the structure being about 50 feet. It seems to have been erected to commemorate some important event the details of which are not now known. Architecturally it is quite an imposing and interesting structure against the background of the hill-fort. The Jama Masjid is the largest mosque at Chanderi and was built in the usual Mandu style of the 15th-16th centuries A. D.

About the Town.—A majority of the ruined structures scattered about the town are tombs of Muslims usually consisting of open domed chambers with carved grave stones underneath. Only a few need here be noted. To the north is an old tank called Parameshvari Tal with a few Chhattris or cenotaphs on its eastern bank and a well built temple of Rama on its western bank all of them referring to the later Bundela chiefs of Chanderi.

Further north in the woods are Muslim tombs called Shahazadika Roza, the Madrasah and a fine stepped well called Battisi Baodi. The Shahazadika Roza is believed to be a tomb of some Emperor's daughter whose name is not known. Though a small structure, with a square chamber once surmounted by a dome, it must have originally been a tiny and beautiful structure as seen now partly in its wavy brackets supporting the eaves outside and in the bands of geometrical designs inlaid with blue enamels. The Madrasah or School was once a tomb later used as a school whence it has derived its present name. The well is called Battisi because of the 32 ghats or landings provided for in its interior facing the water.

To the south in the opposite direction on the road to Ramnagar is an arched gateway cut through the rocks of the hill, part of the arch being built of stone masonry. There are one Sanskrit and one Persian inscriptions on it, which record that this costly work was made by the Governor Jiman Khan at the end of the 15th century.

Koshak Mahal.—It is recorded in *Tawarikh-i-Ferishta* that in A. H. 849 (circa A.D. 1445) Mahmud Shah Khilji I of Malwa passed through Chanderi and ordered a seven-storeyed palace to be built there. Koshak Mahal is the outcome of these orders and though now in a half-ruined condition it is still an imposing edifice not devoid of grandeur.

The palaces at Ramnagar, Panchannagar and Singhpur are situated a few miles away to south, east and north respectively of the town. They were built by the Bundela chiefs of Chanderi in the 18th century A. D. and reflect the late Rajput style of building in Madhya Bharat. They are situated in the midst of charming natural surroundings and are well maintained even now.

(B) THE NORTH-EASTERN MALWA PLATEAU
BHILSA DISTRICT

1 Bhilsa

Bhilsa is the modern representative of the ancient Vidisha which stood on the other side of the river Betwa 2 miles to the north. The name of Bhilsa is not directly related to the ancient name of Vidisha; it seems to have been derived from a great temple of the sun god called as Bhaillasvamin and an incidental reference to the place as Mahabalistan is made by Albiruni in the early 11th century A. D. In the medieval time of 9th to 12th centuries A. D. Bhilsa continued to maintain, in a way, the cultural importance of ancient Vidisha. It was a prosperous centre of Jainism and Hinduism in Central India and a number of magnificent temples were built here which the Muslim chronicles refer to have been destroyed by invaders in subsequent times. The famous Bijamandal mosque in the town must have been once one of the largest temples in Central India which was later converted into a mosque. Under the Sultans of Malwa, Bhilsa was one of the provincial capitals of the kingdom in charge of a governor.

Under the Mughals, however, Bhilsa did not enjoy much political importance it being converted into a head-quarter of a small administrative unit. The emperor Aurangzeb renamed the town as Alamgirpur after his own name though it never came into general use. In the 18th century Bhilsa passed into the hands of the Marathas and remained with them since then.

Few monuments are now left in the own proper though in its vicinity at Besnagar, Udaygiri and Sanchi far more important remains still exist which were, no doubt, intimately connected with the history of Bhilsa and of the earlier town of Vidisha. The surviving monuments at Bhilsa itself are as follows :—

Besides the famous Buddhist topes (stupas) at Sanchi in Bhopal State, the undermentioned monuments at and near Bhilsa are somewhat important:

Lohangi Rock.—This is an isolated sandstone peak near the Railway station on the top of which are (a) a capital of an ancient pillar popularly known as *pani-ki-kundi*, (b) tomb of Lohangi Pir (c) a ruined mosque with a Persian inscription which refers to Sultan Mahmud Shah I Khilji of Mandu (A.D. 1457) and (d) an old covered masonry tank.

Gumbaz-ka-maqbara.—It is a small tomb situated in the old fortified portion of the town. It consists of a single domed chamber surrounded with a verandah and shelters two grave stones. One of these bears a Persian inscription (A.D. 1487) showing that the inmate of the tomb was a big merchant. He was perhaps murdered here.

Bijamandal Mosque.—Not far from this tomb is a large mosque popularly known as Bijamandal, a name which preserves the history of the monument. The mosque is perched on the foundations of an old Hindu temple of about the 11th century A. D. The temple has been demolished and the mosque erected on its site and with its material. As a Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars would show, the original temple was sacred to the goddess Charchika (?) The goddess had probably another name Vijaya after which the temple was called Vijaya Mandir. This name survives in the popular name of the mosque which now occupies the place of the temple.

2 Besnagar

Site of Besnagar.—The site of the famous ancient city, mentioned as Vessanagar in the Pali books of the Buddhists and by the name of Vidisha in the Sanskrit literature of the Hindus, is about two miles to the west of the Bhilsa Railway Station and

is situated in the fork of the two rivers, the Betwa (Vetravati) and the Bes. In the days of the Buddha Vidisha was a great centre of trade connecting the flourishing towns of the Gangetic plains with the western coast and the Deccan. It came more into prominence in the time of Ashoka, the Mauryan Emperor, who had married a daughter of a merchant from the town. Under the Shungas it was a great religious centre, for Hindus and Buddhists alike, as is amply reflected in the famous ruins of Sanchi close by and in the numerous Hindu antiquities found from its old site. Till the age of the Guptas (5th century A. D.) it was a prosperous town but what happened to it afterwards is not known; for by the 10th century the town of Bhilsa, on the other side of the river, had already come into existence, the older town having been almost totally deserted by then.

The site of the ancient town is now marked by mounds which have from time to time yielded numerous stone or other antiquities of historical or artistic importance. Of them the three free-standing statues of Yakshinis, a colossal statue of Kubera, the images of Durga, Seven Mothers, Nrisimha, etc., are the most interesting, most of them being now preserved in the Museum at Gwalior. On the site itself now stands a monolithic pillar known in the locality by the name of Khan Baba, "the Pillar God". The pillar bears a Brahmi inscription stating that it was set up as Garuda pillar in honour of God Vasudeva (Vishnu) by a Greek named Heliodoros who had come to the court of King Bhagabhadra of Vidisha as an ambassador from the Greek king Antialcidas of Takshashila (Taxila) in Western Punjab and who has styled himself as a Bhagavata, having been a convert to Hinduism.

3 Udaygiri

The caves at Udaygiri.—There are in all 20 caves excavated on the eastern face of the Udaygiri hill. The caves are mostly small rock-cut chambers enshrining idols or images of divinities carved into the rock of the hill. Caves Nos. 1 and 20 are Jain caves. Architecturally cave No. 1 is a little interesting in so far as it represents the earliest phase in the development of temple architecture in India, planned as it is with a small

shrine and a simple porch in front. Caves Nos. 2 to 3 are small cells with few sculptural remains. Cave No. 4 enshrines a Shiva *linga* and is popularly called as Bina cave from the figure of a man carved on its doorway represented as playing on the Indian lute (*Vina*). The cave No. 5 is, however, the most important at Udaygiri because of the famous Varaha incarnation scene contained in it. The god Vishnu is here represented in animal-human form, as a man with a boar's head. With his left foot he treads upon the head of the Naga king. With his right tusk he raises the slender and tiny figure of *Prithvi*, the personified goddess of the earth from out of the waters of the ocean shown by the wavy lines in the back-ground. The event here depicts the famous cosmic myth of the creation of order out of chaos by the god Vishnu in this form of Varaha. In the back-ground at the top on both sides are represented the Devas and Asuras watching with interest this great cosmic event. On the left and right sides of the cave are portrayed descent of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna from the heavens to the sea accompanied by heavenly dancers and musicians. The river goddesses are personified as females holding vessels of water in obeisance to the god Varaha. The waters of the two rivers further join together and are shown entering into the sea where they are received by the god of ocean, i. e. Varuna.

Artistically the scene is of profound interest to the history of the sculpture of the Gupta period of the 4 to 5th century A. D.

Of the other caves, the most notable are the caves Nos. 6 and 7 containing important historical inscriptions of the Gupta period, and No. 13 for the large rock-cut image of Sheshashayi Vishnu in it. The cave No. 19 is the largest in the group. The cave No. 20 on the north-eastern top of the hill contains a few Jain images and an important inscription of the Gupta period.

4 Udaypur

This town lies 4 miles by a mstalled road to the east of the Bareth Station on the Central Railway between Bina and Bhilsa. It can also be visited from the next station Basoda, whence it is about 8 miles by a fair weather road.

Udaypur (now a small village) was in the medieval period a place of considerable importance, as is evidenced by the existing remains of monuments both Hindu and Mohammedan.

The principal monuments of interest are :—

- (1) the temple of *Udayeshvara* or *Nikantheshvara* Maha-deva,
- (2) Bijamaudal or Ghadiyalan-ka-makan,
- (3) Bara-khambi,
- (4) Pisnari-ka-mandir.
- (5) Shahi masjid and mahal, and
- (6) Sher Khan's mosque.

Udayeshvara temple.—One of the many old Sanskrit inscriptions on this temple records that the Paramara king Udayaditya of Malwa founded a town, built a temple of Shiva and excavated a tank, and designated all the three works after his own name as *Udayapura*, *Udayeshvara* and *Udayasamudra* respectively. The temple referred to in the inscription is of course the present monument, the town is the one in which the temple stands and the ruins of the tank *Udayasamudra* are seen at a short distance to the north-east of the town. It is further known from two other inscriptions on this temple that the construction of the temples was commenced in V. S. 1116 (A.D. 1059) and that the flag staff was erected in V. S. 1137 (A.D. 1080). It is thus clear from the above that this temple was built by the order of king Udayaditya Paramara between the years 1059 and A. D. 1080.

The temple stands in a spacious square court-yard with a rectangular projection in the centre of each side. It is enclosed with a dwarf compound wall the outer face of which was decorated with carving. A line of stone seats furnished with back rests ran all along the inner face of the enclosure wall. The compound was probably pierced with four entrances one in each cardinal point, the principal entrance being on the east towards which the temple faces. Each entrance consisted of a flight of steps guarded on either side by a figure of a *dwarapala* or door-keepers. All the entrances except the principal one are now closed up.

The temple was surrounded by eight attendant shrines at least six of which were crowned with spires, and sheltered

subsidiary idols. Two of these shrines have disappeared altogether, while the rest exist in the various stages of ruin. The shrine in front of the main temple is a square room which probably had a pyramidal roof. This shrine is locally known as *Vedi*. The exact purpose for which it was used is uncertain or it may have been a sacrificial hall (as the Sanskrit word *Vedi* means an altar) or else it may have been meant to shelter an idol of Shiva's bull (*Nandi*) which no longer exists. Occupying a corresponding position at the back of the main temple was either a similar *Vedi* or an ordinary attendant shrine, which has been cleared off to make room for a mosque.

This principal temple consists of a *garbhagriha* or shrine room a *sabhamandapa* or a hall and three *praveshamandalas* or entrance porches arranged on three sides of the hall, the main entrance porch being on the east. The idol worshipped in the shrine is a large Siva *linga* set on a high pedestal. The *linga* is now covered with a brass sheet fitted on the front with a face in relief. As an inscription on it states, this cover was presented by Khande Rao Appaji (a General of Mahadaji Scindia), in V. S. 1841 (A.D. 1775). The shrine doorway is sculptured as in medieval temples. The figure of *Nandi* placed on a low dais in the hall is comparatively modern as is evident from its weak and inartistic modelling. The pillars and seats in all the three porches are covered with numerous Sanskrit inscriptions some of which are of historical interest while others are merely pilgrims' records.

The exterior of the temple is profusely adorned with sculptures representing various gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, including Brahma, Vishnu, Ganesha, Kartikeya and the eight Guardians of the Quarters placed in their proper positions. But the figures of Shiva and his consort the goddess Durga in various forms predominate as the temple is dedicated to Shiva.

The hall and porches are surmounted with low pyramidal roofs while the shrine is crowned with a tall and beautifully designed *shikhara* or spire decorated with its own miniature repetitions arranged in vertical ribs and medallions inset with figures of gods.

A curious human figure fixed up near the pinnacle of the spire is variously interpreted as that of the architect who designed

the edifice or as of the royal builder climbing up to heaven in virtue of the religious merit which he earned by constructing such a magnificent temple.

The temple was roughly handled and its figure sculptures mutilated by Mohammedan invaders. A popular legend is current that Aurangzeb is responsible for the damage done to this temple but it seems more probable that this had already been done by Mohammad Tughlaq, Sultan of Delhi who built the mosque at the back of the temple with material of demolished shrines, between A. H. 737-39 (A.D. 1336-38) as known from the two Persian inscriptions related to this mosque. The main building of the temple, however, has escaped without serious damage.

The temple is a fine example of the Aryavarta or Indo-Aryan style of temple architecture in its fully developed stage. The pink coloured sandstone employed in the building shows its grandeur to better effect.

The spire, doubtless the most fascinating feature of this monument, is perhaps unrivalled in beauty in the whole array of the Indian temples. As every part of this temple is carved with great precision and delicacy and as the whole is in a fairly perfect condition to the present day there are few examples of its class which give a better idea of the style of the medieval temple architecture in northern India.

Bijamandal or Ghadiyalan-ha-makan.—This is the remnant of an interesting two-storeyed house close to, and probably contemporary with the Udayeshvara temple. As its name implies it was probably the house of the time-keeper or clock-man on the establishment of the great temple. This is perhaps corroborated by an unfinished Sanskrit inscription on the building which opens with the praise of the Sun-god.

Bara-khambi.—This is the surviving portion (*Sabhamandapa*) of a now ruined 11th century temple standing on the outskirt of the village. The hall is surrounded by raised seats with back rests, and has a massive slab as its ceiling.

Pisnari-ha-mandir.—This is yet another old Hindu temple in the village. It is popularly believed to have been built

by a woman out of her earning made by grinding flour for the workmen employed for the construction of the Udayeshvara temple. This tradition is, however, belied by the style of the architecture of the temple which shows that it is a much later structure.

Shahi Masjid and Mahal.—Nearly a furlong to the east of the great temple is a big mosque, an imposing edifice locally known as Shahi Masjid now in ruins. According to Persian inscription on it, the construction of the mosque was commenced in the reign of Jehangir and completed in that of Shahjahan in A. H. 1041 (A. D. 1632). Close to the mosque are the remains of a spacious mahal or mansion which was probably the residence of the local governor during the Mughal rule. The mahal is built in the simple and elegant style of the early Mughal period and the existing ruins contain some good *jali* work in stone. In front of the mosque is a large platform which supports a number of tombs. The mosque and the graveyard are evidently adjuncts of the mahal.

Sher Khan ki Masjid.—The town was surrounded with a fortification wall pierced with a number of gates. These fortifications are continued towards the south so as to be connected with a hill, the top of which is also fortified. Just outside the eastern gate of the city wall called Moti Darwaza is situated a small mosque with a graveyard of a common raised plinth now in ruins. The mosque is built in the Mandu style of architecture. It has inscriptions (both Persian and Sanskrit) which refer to the construction of the mosque by an agent of Sher Khan during the rule of Ghiyas Shah Khilji, Sultan of Mandu, in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488).

A short distance further east of the mosque is a big step-well locally known as a Ghoddaud-ki-bacdi, so called because it has a spacious and easy flight of steps along which horses could run down to reach the water.

There are some other rock sculptures in the vicinity of Udaypur such as a huge but unfinished image of Shiva carved in boulder locally known as *Ravan tor* and a panel of Saptamatrikas in the side of an adjoining hill the natural shape of which resembles that of a Buddhist Stupa.

5. Gyaraspur

Gyaraspur seems to have been a place of considerable importance in the medieval times as is evident from the extensive ruins that lie scattered in and around the village. Further the place has passed through the influence of Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism as it still possesses monuments representing every one of the three sects.

The principal monuments here are :—

(1) *Athakhamba* in the west, (2) *Bajra Matha* on the south-west, (3) *Maladevi* on the south, (4) traces of a few Buddhist Stupas and images, and remains of two temples on the north of the village, and (5) Hindola inside the village, ranging in date from the 8th to the 10th centuries A. D. Among the minor monuments may be mentioned the Mansarovara tank, the ruins of a Gadhi or fort, some scattered fragmentary sculptures, Sati stones and a Christian tomb.

Athakhamba.—A group of eight pillars is all that now remains of a once magnificent temple. The remains comprise the door-frame of the shrine, the two pillars of the antechamber carrying a trifol arch and the four central pillars of the hall, all exquisitely carved. A pilgrim's record engraved on one of the pillars is dated in V. S. 1039 (A. D. 982).

Bajra Matha.—It is an example of a rare class of temples containing three shrines in a row. All the three shrines are now occupied by Jain idols, but the sculptures on the door-frames of the shrines and the niches on the basement of the temple clearly show that it was originally a Brahmanical temple in which three shrines dedicated to the principal gods of the Hindu Trinity are combined. The central shrine is sacred to Surya, who is often substituted for Brahma, the southern to Vishnu and the northern to Shiva. The carving of the doorway is exceptionally fine and vigorous. The *shikhara* of the temple is also equally unusual in its plan and design.

Maladevi Temple.—This is the biggest of the existing monuments of Gyaraspur and is picturesquely situated on the slope of a hill overlooking a valley. It is a stupendous and imposing structure standing on a huge platform cut out of the hillside

and strengthened by a massive retaining wall. It comprises of an entrance-porch, a hall and a shrine surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and crowned with a lofty *shikhara* all covered with rich carving. The shrine room and the hall now shelter a number of Jain images. But as indicated by a figure of a goddess which occupies the dedicatory block on the outer door-frame, the decorative images and the current name of the temple, it appears to have originally been a temple of a goddess which was later on appropriated by the Jains like the *Bajra Matha* temple described above.

Buddhist Stupas.—On the hill to the north of the village are a few ruined platforms built of dry rubble masonry, which may possibly be the remnants of stupas. There are also traces of a paved path and steps leading to the site. All of these stupas seem to have been opened by treasure-seekers. There is no carving in the ruins except a seated image of Buddha now badly worn out.

Two images of Buddha carved in the face of a hill about two miles to the west of Gyaraspur are other vestiges of the last activities of Buddhism which survived till the medieval period in this part of the country.

Temples.—Some two hundred yards from these stupas on the eastern slope of the hill looking on the Mansarovara tank below are the remains of a compounded area, which enclosed quite a number of small shrines or temples all but two of which have disappeared. Judging from the carving on the door-frame of one of these temples which has survived, these seem to date back from the 8th or 9th century A. D. One of these has a figure of Garuda on the lintel of its shrine-door indicating that it was a Vaishnava temple.

Hindola Torana.—This is one of the *toranas* or ornamental entrance arches connected with a large temple dedicated either to Vishnu or Trimurti the remains of which have been unearthed in recent excavations. The popular name Hindola means a swing and the *torana* with its two upright pillars and the cross beam has sufficient resemblance to the common Indian swing to justify its present name. All the four sides of the pillars are carved into panels with insets of the ten incarnations of Vishnu.

The excavations have further shown that the adjoining group of four pillars carrying brackets with lions and elephant heads constitute the central pillars of the Sabhamandapa of the principal hall of the temple to which the Hindola Torana belongs.

The Mansarovara tank and the *Gadhi* or fort are said to have been built by the Gond Chief Mansingh in the 17th century A. D., but the fort seems to have been extended further by the Mohammedians.

Images of Ganesha, Bhairava and some *sati* and memorial pillars are seen at a short distance to the south-east of the tank.

Near the Athakhambha stands a Christian tomb sacred to Sergeant Major John Snow of the 72nd Regiment who died here on the 9th October, 1837.

6. Badoh-Pathari

Badoh is now a small village 12 miles by road to the east of Kulhar Station on the Bombay-Delhi main line of the Central Railway. The road up to Pathari (10 miles) is metalled but the remaining portion is *kachcha*. Visitors will do well to leave their wheeled conveyances at Pathari and visit Badoh by a short footpath the regular cart track being circuitous and strewn with boulders.

Badoh, though now a petty village, was a prosperous town in the medieval times as is testified by the numerous ruins of temples mainly disposed round a large tank on the south of the village. The other fine tank and ancient monuments now included in the neighbouring village of Pathari also formed part of the same old town. The ancient name of the place according to a local tradition was Badnagar (*Vatanagara*) which, however, is not mentioned in any known inscriptions. As for history very little is known about the rulers of this locality in the medieval period, or about the builders of the old monuments.

The more important of the ancient monuments at Badoh are—(1) Gadarmal temple, (2) Sola-Khambi hall, (3) Dashavatara temple, (4) Satmadhi temples, and (5) Jain temple.

Gadarmal Temple.—This is the largest of all the temples in these ruins. Owing to its enormous height it is a very

conspicuous landmark in the locality and is visible from a long distance. The temple as it stands at present is not wholly in its original form but consists of two distinct parts belonging to different periods:—(1) the lower portion or basement of shrine, and the porch, which are the remnants of the original temple of about the 9th century A. D., (2) the *shikhara* or spire which is a later substitute for the original spire and which is made up of heterogeneous pieces picked up from the ruins of different Hindu and Jaina temples. The principal temple was surrounded by seven attendant shrines, all of which are now in ruins, standing on a spacious platform. The retaining walls of the platform were decorated with mouldings and niches inset with sculptures, as can be seen from its front face which is preserved. A beautifully carved *torana* gateway stood over the projecting staircase which led to this platform, but it is now badly ruined. The platform stands at the centre of a large enclosure which is entered through a gateway on the north. In front of this is a large old tank.

The plan of the principal temple is rather unusual. It consists of an oblong and (not as usual a square) shrine room and an entrance porch without a *sabhamandapa* and in this respect this temple is somewhat similar to Teli-ka-mandir of Gwalior Fort.

The exterior of the basement has the usual mouldings and niches inset with images of gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. The attendant shrines sheltered subsidiary idols, only one of which, that of the Sun-god, has survived in the shrine at the north-west corner. On the whole, the sculptures and carving on this temple are unusually fine, and the entrance porch is particularly imposing.

An image of a goddess is carved on the dedicatory block of the door lintel and several images of goddesses and a fine large sculpture of a mother goddess with a divine baby were found lying in the debris inside the shrine room, the latter being now exhibited in the Gwalior Museum. Further, the interior of the shrine room has a continuous line of pedestals running along its back and side walls. There is a series of socket holes in this line of pedestals indicating that a row of idols was installed here.

Evidently these idols were none other than the images of goddesses that were found in the debris and which are provided with tenons at the bottom. All these goddesses appear to be possibly Yoginis.

According to a popular legend current in the locality, the temple is believed to have been constructed by a shepherd (Gadaria) and hence its name Gadarmal.

Sola-Khambi.—The structure is called Sola-Khambi or sixteen-pillared hall from the number of pillars which support its flat roof. The exact purpose of the building is not known. As it is situated just on the bank of a tank it was probably a pleasure resort. On architectural grounds it may be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A. D.

Dashavatara Temple.—The group consists of shrines dedicated to one or another of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. There is also a temple in the shape of a hall which once sheltered the image of all the ten incarnations. The temples, all of which are now in ruins, range in date from the 8th to the 10th century A. D.

Sat Madhi Temples.—The popular name implies the existence of 'seven shrines' in this group. At present only six of these are standing while the ruins indicate the existence of many more. The sculptures in the ruins indicate that some of the shrines were Vaishnavite and others Shaivite. At least one shrine was sacred to Ganesha. The sculptures include three seated idols of Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. These temples are situated nearly a mile to the north-east of the Dashavatara temples and are contemporary with them.

Jain Temple.—The temple consists of twenty-five different shrines or cells enclosing an oblong courtyard in the centre of which is a raised platform or *vedi*. The different cells of the temple appear to have been constructed at different times ranging in date from the 9th to the 12th century A. D. or even to a later period. The cells shelter images of one or more of the twenty-four Jain Tirthankaras. The principal shrine which is in the southern row facing the north and a few other cells are surmounted with *shikharas*. Some are crowned with domes and others have only flat roofs. Two of the three cells bear short Sanskrit inscriptions or pilgrims' records of the 11th century A. D.

The monuments at Pathari are (1) a rock-cut panel of 'Sapta Matrikas', (2) a monolithic pillar, (3) a huge unfinished image of Varaha and (4) a Shiva temple. These ruins with the exception of the panel of Sapta Matrikas, which is referable to the 5th century A. D., range in date from the 9th to the 11th century A. D.

A contemporary Sanskrit inscription is engraved on a rock-cut tablet under the panel of Sapta Matrikas (the seven mothers) which is sculptured in the south face of the hill between Badoh and Pathari. The inscription mentions a king Jayatsena. The monolithic pillar stands in the village itself. It records that the pillar was set up as a Garudadhvaja by a chief minister of a Rashtrakuta king Parabala in V. S. 917 (A. D. 861). The unfinished sculpture of Varaha carved in a huge boulder is about half a mile to the east of the village, while the Shiva temple stands in a grove at an equal distance to the south-east.

(C) THE MALWA PLATEAU

1. Ujjain

History.—Ujjayini as the name signifies, was "a city of victory" and the legend current in the *Avantika Khanda Mahatmya* of the Skanda Purana asserts that the Capital of Avantis was called Ujjayini to commemorate Lord Shiva's victory over the powerful demon Tripura. There is, however, a historical tradition that the Avantis were a Kshatriya tribe or clan belonging to the parental stock of the Haihayas who had been the greatest civilising and Aryanising force in the land now called Malwa. As the history becomes more clear we find in the days of the Buddha, in 6th century B.C., Ujjain as a capital of the powerful kingdom of the Pradyotas and as a great trading centre linked with all the prosperous cities of the then western world. In the days of the Mauryas Ujjain was a seat of an important viceroyalty, having the honour of the great Ashoka himself as her viceroy when he was a prince. The fall of the Mauryan empire in 2nd century B.C. was followed by troubled times of political confusion out of which, it is said, rose in this city a remarkable personality, cherished in northern India as the founder of the Vikrama Era in commemoration of his victory over the barbarous Shakas. After Vikramaditya there was chaos again which was left to be brought to order by the Guptas of Magadha who founded a glorious empire in the whole of northern India with Ujjain again as a seat of viceroyalty. The Gupta empire collapsed in the 6th century B.C. after which arose a number of Rajput principalities ruling over the various parts of northern India. In the 9-10th centuries Ujjain was a capital of the Paramara

kings who later moved to Dhar. In 1235 Altmash sacked Ujjain and destroyed many temples including the famous shrine of Mahakal which had, from long time past, been renowned for its sanctity all over India. For about 500 years afterwards Ujjain was mostly in Muhammedan possession which, however, did not affect its ancient importance as a religious centre and as an emporium of trade. In 1750 Ujjain passed into the hands of the Scindias, who, made it their capital till 1810 when it was shifted to the modern city of Lashkar or Gwalior.

Places of historical interest: Bhartrihari Cave.—It is the remnant of an 11th century temple partially repaired in later times. Judging by an old *linga* and fragments of carving, the original temple was probably dedicated to Shiva. Nowadays it is in the possession of the Mahants of the Nath sect.

Chaubis Khamba Gate.—It is so called from the number of pillars which supports its present roof. The original structure has been restored at a later period with old material and was possibly one of the gates in the outer compound wall of the medieval temple of Mahakal, a portion of which exists a few hundred feet to the west of this gate and is traditionally known as the *ket* or fortification.

Kaliadeh Water Palace.—It is picturesquely situated on an island in the river Kshipra about six miles by metalled road north of Ujjain city. In pre-Muhammedan days the island was known as Brahma Kund and had a bathing *ghat* on the river and a large temple on its bank. The carved stones of these old buildings have been incorporated in the massive bridge which crosses the western branch of the stream.

Nasir Shah, the third Khilji Sultan of Malwa, is said to have built the palace in about A. D. 1500 as a cool summer resort. The outstanding feature of the palace is the system by which the waters of the river are led through fancifully shaped conduits into numerous tanks and then allowed to fall over sculptured stone curtains. Here the water is spread into a thin sheet and finally passes back to the bed of the river after a fall of 20 feet. In this way chambers built on a masonry platform in the bed of the river were automatically kept cool.

The palace is a good specimen of the Mandu style of architecture. Kioskes and a number of other structures have been added to it at later dates, especially during the time of the Moghuls. In recent times more additions and alterations have been made and the palace has been equipped with modern fittings to make it suitable as a residence for the Maharaja Scindia during his visits to Ujjain.

Mahakal Temple.—This is one of the oldest and most famous of the 12 Jyotirlingas, principal seats of Shaivite worship, in India. Every year thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India are attracted to this shrine, and during the *Singhastha Mela* which takes place once every 12 years, the number of pilgrims runs into lakhs in a single day.

The ancient temple fell a victim to the early Musalman invaders, but the shrine continued to maintain its age-long reputation for sanctity. It was through the idol in this shrine that the first meridian of the Hindu geographers passed and it has been said with truth that in the Mahakal temple the God Shiva was worshipped as the Lord of Great Time.

The present temple, which was built over the site of the ancient structure, is said to have been raised in the 18th century by Ramchandra Baba, a Brahman Dewan of Ranoji Scindia, the founder of the ruling house of Gwalior.

Gopal Mandir.—It is the second biggest temple in the city and is situated in the heart of the busiest quarter. It was built by Maharani Baija Bai, the able queen of Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia in about 1833. The shrine which houses the image of Krishna (Gopala), has silver doors, and is surmounted by a beautiful marble spire.

The Ghats.—The ghats on the river Kshipra, usually visited by pilgrims all through the year, are seen at their best during the *Singhastha Mela* when lacs of people are all intent upon taking their holy bath in the sacred water.

Astronomical Observatory.—Popularly known as the Jantar Mahal, is situated near Jaisinghpura to the south of the town, and on the right bank of the river. It was erected by Maharaja Jaisingh of Jaipur in 1733 while he was Governor of Malwa under

the Mughals. Since Indian astronomers, as well as geographers regard the first meridian as passing through Ujjain, this observatory has always been of special interest to them. There are four instruments ; the Samrata Yantra, the Nada Valaya Yantra, the Digamsha Yantra, and the Bhitti Yantra. These were repaired by Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia in 1925, and modern observations have proved that the chief instruments, the Samrata Yantra, gives very accurate readings.

A mile or so to the north of the modern city is the site of ancient Ujjain the area being now known as Bhairongadh. Part of this area and the mounds called Vaishya Tekri and Kumhar Tekri further to its north-east were excavated some years back clearly indicating the existence of the city in the 2nd or 3rd century B. C.

2. Dhar

History.—Though not so ancient as Mahishmati or Ujjain, Dhar is nevertheless important in the history of Madhya Bharat as the one time capital of Malwa under the great Paramaras in 11-12th century A. D. The earlier history of the town is not definitely known but the numerous wooded groves and lakes nearabout it seem to have impressed upon the art-loving Paramara King Bhoja, who, eventually shifted his capital from Ujjain to Dhar and exerted personally in improving upon its natural surroundings.

After Bhoja the power of the Paramaras began to decline and was finally vanquished by Ain-ul-Mulk, a General of Alauddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, in A. D. 1305. Dhar continued to remain the headquarters of the Governor of Malwa till 1401 when the then governor Dilawarkhan Ghor declared independence. A few years after, in 1405, Hoshang Shah, his successor, shifted the capital from Dhar to Mandu and Dhar thus began to lose its former importance only to regain it partially when it again became a capital of a small principality of the Maratha family of the Pawars in the middle of the 18th century A. D.

Monuments.—*Kamal Masula Mosque or Bhojashala.*—Raja Bhoja was noted in the then Indian world for his great love for learning and literature and is said to have established a college known as Bhojashala remnants of which are still seen

in the famous Mosque of Kamal Maulana near the outskirts of the modern town. The mosque consists of a large open court with a porch in front, colonnades at sides and a large prayer hall at the back in the west. The carved pillars used over the building and the delicately carved ceilings of the prayer hall seem to have belonged to the original Bhojshala. In the pavement of the prayer hall are seen numerous slabs of black slate stone the writings on which were also scraped off. From a few slabs recovered from the other part of the building and now exhibited there, containing the texts of the poetic works of *viz.*, the Parijata Manjari and Kur-mastotra, it appears the old [college was adorned with numerous Sanskrit and Maharashtra Prakrit texts beautifully engraved on such slabs which have unfortunately been lost to us for ever.

Lat Masjid.—Like the Mosque of Kamal Maulana there is another notable building at the southern border of the town called as Lat Masjid. It is almost similarly planned with the carved pillars and brackets of older temples used in the colonnades and the beautifully carved facing of their ceilings utilised for the interior of the domes of the prayer hall. Nearby against a dilapidated platform are leaning three large fragments of an iron pillar or *Lat*, as called in Hindi, from which the mosque has derived its present name. The mosque was, however, built by Dilawar Khan a little before his death in 1405 as is evident from the Persian inscriptions on its two porches.

The Fort.—The other monument of importance at Dhar is the fort constructed in 1344 by Sultan Mahmud Tughlaq, when he was on his campaign of conquest to the Deccan. In 1731 the Pawars took over its possession and held it since then. There are few buildings inside but architecturally they are not very important. The only event of historical importance about the fort is that the Peshwa Bajirao II was born here in 1775.

Of the other notable sites worth a visit at Dhar are the tomb of Abdulla Shah Changal, a Muslim missionary from Madina, and a temple of goddess Kalika prominently situated on an eminence facing the old lake said to have been excavated by the Parmara king Munja after whom it is now known.

3. Mandu

History.—The origin of the fort is shrouded in mystery though it is obvious from the loose antiquities of Hindu and Jain temples found sporadically on the hill it must have been a place of importance in the later days of the Paramaras of Malwa. History further affirms that the power of the Paramaras was finally smashed in Mandu itself by Ain-ul-Mulk, a General of Allauddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, in A. D. 1305 from which date Malwa became a province of the Delhi Sultanate. It was, however, in A. D. 1401 that Dilawar Khan Ghori, watching the tragic events at Delhi, consequent on the invasion of Timur, declared independence with Dhar as his capital. His son Hoshang Shah, later shifted the capital to Mandu in 1405 when he succeeded his father. The fortification of the hill is mostly the work of this enterprising monarch who ruled for 27 years. In 1432 his son Gazni Khan ascended the throne but soon after in 1436 he was poisoned by Mahmud Khan, his own officer, who usurped the rule for himself. Mahmud Shah, the new Khilji ruler, was a great warrior and builder and under him Malwa rose to a powerful and prosperous kingdom. He ruled for 33 years and was succeeded by his son Ghiatuddin who was a man of peace and pleasure. He ruled for 31 years and died at the age of 80, it is said, of poison administered to him by his son Nasiruddin, who after an unhappy rule of 10 years died in 1510 to be succeeded by his son Mahmud II. Mahmud II was a weak ruler and could hardly maintain the stability of his power without the help of the Sultans of Gujrat. Bahadur Shah, the Gujrat Sultan, was, however, displeased with him and after investing the fort in A. D. 1526 annexed Malwa to his own kingdom. In 1534 Humayun conquered the fort forcing Bahadur Shah to flee, but in the confusion which followed Mallu Khan, an officer of the former Malwa Sultan, crowned himself as Sultan Qadir Shah in Mandu to be ousted in 1542 by Sher Shah who left behind him Shuja Khan as Governor of Malwa. Shuja Khan died in 1554 and was succeeded by his son Malik Bayazid who crowned himself as an independent sovereign with the name of Sultan Baz Bahadur. Baz Bahadur is better known for his romantic association with the beautiful Rupamati and for the cause of music he pursued.

In 1561 Adham Khan, Akbar's General, invaded Malwa and defeating Baz Bahadur at Sarangpur annexed the territory as part of the Mughal empire. Rupamati fell into the hands of the enemy but the faithful lady soon committed suicide.

Till 1732, when the Marathas captured the fort, Mandu remained a part of the Mughal empire graced with the personal visits of most of all the earlier emperors especially Akbar and Jehangir. The latter having been more fascinated by its scenery stayed there for months together living vivid account of his memorable stay at the place in his famous "*Memoirs*".

The fortifications and gates of Mandu.—From the view point of military strategy the fort was more exposed from the north where the slope rises in mild ascents leading the visitor along a circuitous road to the top of the hill. The principal approach to the fort also lay on this side and was named as Delhi Darwaza as it faced the direction of the historical city of Delhi. This imposing gate is now in a ruined condition at a short distance from the road. It was itself approached after passing through a series of gateways, well fortified with walled enclosures, such as the Alamgir and Bhangi gates, through which the road now passes, which thus gave an added security to the otherwise weak defences of the fort on this side.

The other important gate which figured so often in the military history of the fort is the Tarapur gate to the south-west facing the Nimar plain below. The hill here falls very precipitously and a stone-paved pathway goes down to the plains. The original gate consisted of a double arched entrance, the zigzag passage through them being enclosed by very strong massive walls. The third arched gateway with square bastions at sides was added to later on in the time of emperor Akbar.

The Monuments in the Fort.—The historical buildings in the fort number about 75 and are scattered in 5 or 6 distinct groups. The most important of them is the group situated in what may be called as the Royal Enclave in which all the pomp and glory of Malwa dwelt in the palmy days of her Sultans. The palaces which now exist here in ruins give but faint glimpses of the ways in which the Sultans lived and ruled. The Jahaz Mahal is a living embodiment of the beauties and joys of life which seem to

have characterised their private lives. The palace stands lengthwise in a narrow strip of land between the waters of the Munj and Kapur tanks and hence may be fancied to look like a ship, the pleasing variety of the small domes on its grand terrace, having given an added charm to the beauty of the structure. It is probable that it was built by the pleasure-loving Sultan Ghiatuddin for his large harem. The Hindola Mahal close by stands to exemplify how beauty can be produced through a simple style of construction. The character of the edifice lies in its massive side-walls sloping majestically downwards which has thus given it the name Hindola or swining mahal. As one goes west from here he will, after having a glance at an elaborately constructed well, called Champa Baodi, pass by a pile of buildings lying in a confused mass of ruins facing the Munj tank in which once lived the pick of the royal family of the Sultans. Amongst them the water pavilion at the other end and a building called Hamam may be recognised with some certainty.

Of the other buildings scattered over in this Enclave mention may be made of the Mosque built by Dilawar Khan, the first Sultan of Malwa, mainly for the use of the Royal family, the Nahar Zaroka or the Tiger's Balcony, and the Hathi Pol gate, built in Mughal times, the two large wells, called the Ujala (Bright) and Andheri (Dark) *Baodis* and the two miserably ruined structures known as Gada Shah's house and shop.

The second impressive group of monuments stands close to the village of Mandu with the great mosque in centre and the tombs of Hoshang and Mahmud to its west and east respectively. It seems these buildings were laid out with a well conceived plan, the centres of them being in one straight line, and it may be that the original plan was conceived and commenced by Hoshang Shah Ghori and later completed by Mahmud Khilji. The Great mosque is the grandest structure now existing in the fort. It has an imposing domed porch in front and a very extensive open court in centre with arched colonnades at sides and a grand prayer-hall at the back. The most striking feature of the building seen from the court is the fine panorama of domes and arches seen all around. The prayer-hall is equally imposing with its rows of arches and pillars and the beautifully

carved *mihrabs* along the western wall. The collage or *Madarsah* in front of the mosque consisted of a large open court in centre and rooms and arched corridors ranged along its sides with a large porch facing the mosque and projecting towers at corners. Mahmud filled up the open court to form basement for his own marble tomb and enlarged the north-western tower to a lofty seven-storeyed tower of victory. Both these structures though very grand in design and huge in proportions fell long ago leaving their majestic remains behind. For chasteness and simplicity of style the tomb of Hoshang is a perfect example at Mandu fortunately still intact. It stands on a raised marble platform in the centre of a spacious open court with a domed porch or entrance in the north. The building is faced entirely in marble and was held in high esteem by the old Muslim architects. To its west is a colonnade called as *Dharmashala* probably because of the Hindu style of its construction.

The group of buildings near the Sagar Talao is larger in number. It includes prominently the mosque built by Malik Mughith, father of Mahmud I, out of old temple materials. In its front is a *sarai* and, further east, two tombs built on raised platforms of the nurses of the princes of Mandu belonging to a later date. It seems nearby the tombs was a well laid out garden only traces of which are now seen. At a short distance to north are other structures built round an old tank called Somavati Kund the most important of which is the tomb of Daryakhan an officer in the court of Mahmud II.

For purposes of sight-seeing the most pleasing is the group of Rewa Kund at the southern end of the hill consisting of the Palace of Baz Bahadur and the pavilions known after the famous Rupamati. The Palace was built by Nasiruddin and later added to by Baz Bahadur. The two domed pavilions on its terrace offer enchanting views of the surrounding plateau. Higher up on the southern ridge of the hill are the pavilions commanding an excellent and clearer view of the Nima plain 1,200 feet below. It was built originally as an army observation post and was added to later. From here on a clear day the sacred river Narmada is seen along the distant horizon rippling about like a white serpent. It is said Rupamati used to have her daily

darshan of the sacred stream from here and hence the building is known after her name.

The other group of sight-seeing and historical interest is to the south-west of the hill. Besides the Tarapur gate mentioned above the most charming spot here is the Nilkanth called after an original old Shiva shrine on which a pleasure house was built later by a governor of Akbar in 16th century. The structure faces a charming valley in front and is a pleasant spot even in the worst parts of the summer. Higher up to west is the citadel of Mandu, called Songadh, with no buildings of note on it being rather inaccessible to visitors.

Of the other buildings scattered in between these groups the names of the Palace of Chisthi Khan, the Lal Bungalow (Ruby Palace) in the midst of a woody tract, the Chhappan Mahal near the village may be mentioned as worthy of note.

(D) THE NORTH-WESTERN MALWA PLATEAU— MANDSOR DISTRICT

I. Mandsor

History.—The most important place, historically or otherwise, in the north-western part of Malwa is Mandsor, the ancient Dashapura or the town of ten *puras* or hamlets, mentioned as such in a number of old Sanskrit inscriptions. In the days of the Guptas Dashapura seems to have been a prosperous stronghold of the tribe of the Malavas who subsequently gave their name to the present province of Malwa. In early 6th century A. D. the place achieved considerable importance since its ruler Yashodharman scored a crushing victory over the Hunas, who had a little earlier brought down the great empire of the Guptas. The subsequent history of Mandsor is rather obscure. It is said Alauddin Khilji ravaged the old city and built the fort now seen in ruins. In the time of the Malwa Sultans Mandsor was often the bone of contention in their constant wars with the Ranas of Udaipur.

Monuments.—It seems in the Gupta period a number of temples were raised at Mandsor. Their notable remains are now preserved in the open ground in front of the Collectorate in the fort. They include a colossal image of Shiva discovered in a ravine in the fort itself and parts of a *torana* pillar found buried in the village Khilchipura two miles away. The carvings on them are very beautifully executed in the classic style of art prevalent in the golden age of the Guptas.

Yashodharman's Pillars of Victory.—These constitute a monument of the most outstanding archaeological interest in the

vicinity of Mandsor. Pieces of the two huge monoliths were till recently lying scattered half buried in earth in a field near the deserted hamlet Sondni 3 miles to the south-east Mandsor. They are now picked up and arranged properly on a masonry platform. Excavations of the surrounding ground disclosed the foundations on which the pillars originally stood erect. The pillars bear contemporary Sanskrit inscriptions reciting the glories of king Yashodharman who flourished in the middle of the sixth century A. C. and who expelled the Hunas out of Central India. These pillars appear to have been set up by Yashodharman to commemorate his victory over the Hunas.

Each pillar is 3 feet 6 inches in diameter and was over 40 feet in height when entire, thus weighing nearly 200 tons. As this kind of stone is said to be unavailable within a radius of 100 miles of this place, the magnitude of the task of moving such a heavy mass from such a long distance and over uneven country in an age innocent of mechanical appliances and railroads is simply amazing !

2. Khor

At Khor there are a good many ruins of temples and step-wells or *chopdas* of the mediæval period scattered in the vicinity of the village. The biggest and most interesting of these is the remnant of an 11th century temple locally known as Nau Toran.

The Nau Toran stands on the roadside to the east of the village and consists of a shrine, a small ante-chamber, a hall and three porches all now in a ruined condition. The temple was set on a low but extensive platform traces of which are visible at the south-west corner.

The peculiarly elegant feature of this temple consists of ten decorative arches or *toranas* arranged into two rows one lengthwise and the other widthwise crossing at the centre and supported on each pair of pillars in the hall and the porches. There are six arches widthwise north to south and four lengthwise east to west. Each *torana* is set on two projections in the sides of pillars shaped like the heads of *makaras* with opened mouths from which the arch appears to spring up. The *toranas* are

decorated with two leaf-shaped borders and a third or central ornament consisting of figurines of garland bearers. The *makara* heads rest on conventional rampant lions carved out of the shafts of the pillars. It was from these *toranas* or archways the number of which was mistaken to be nine that the temple is called Nau *Toranas* or "of the nine arches."

3. Dhamnar

The name of the village Dhamnar is not known from any literary or historical source though close by the village are now found quite a large number of rock-cut caves or temples, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical. Though the excavations are numerous, only fourteen of the caves and the large rock-cut temple of Dharmanatha are of some importance. Of these fourteen caves the two called respectively as Bhim Bazar and Badi Kacheri are the most interesting.

The Bhim Bazar, as its popular name suggests, is the largest of the Dhamnar Caves. It consists of a large rectangular court with a *Chaitya* in centre enclosed on three sides by ranges of small cells, each side having a smaller chapel in the central cell. Few carvings or figure sculptures are found in the cave except that in the central cell to the west are two rock-cut images of seated Buddhas.

In the group of smaller caves nearby, known as Chhota or small Bazar, are found a number of rock-cut images of the Buddha now seen badly mutilated or disfigured.

The Badi Kacheri is, in fact, a large *Chaitya* hall, square in plan, with a pillared portico in front enclosed by a stone railing.

The other caves are not very interesting artistically or architecturally. It appears that the surfaces of walls and ceilings in some of the caves were once coated with some plaster, possibly painted over, though no traces of any paintings are to be seen now.

The most interesting Hindu monument at Dhamnar is the temple of Dharmanatha entirely hewn out of the rocky body of the hill. The name of the village is obviously derived from this temple. It consists, in plan,

of the sanctum or shrine proper, with the sabha-mandapa or pillared hall and a porch in front as usual in medieval Hindu structural temples. The spire or *shikhara* over the main shrine is also in the usual north Indian style. The temple was attended by seven subsidiary shrines also cut out of the rocky side of the hill. The interior as well as the exterior of the main temple bear little of carving or ornamentation which are normally to be found in all medieval Hindu temples. An image of the four-armed god Vishnu is found in the shrine to whom the temple was originally dedicated, though, it seems, in later times, the Shaivites took possession of the temple for their use as is evident from the *linga* installed and worshipped in the shrine even today. Even this must have taken place long ago; for the name Dharmanatha refers to the *linga* of Shiva to which the long standing name of the village Dhamnar owes its origin.

From the style of the carvings and from the general features of their plans the Buddhist caves may be dated to the 8th or 9th century A. D. The excavation of the Hindu temples also was not much removed in date from the caves of the Buddhists.

(E) THE NARMADA VALLEY OR NIMAR PLAIN

1. Bagh

About 100 miles south-west of the modern cities of Mhow and Indore, on the slopes of the ancient Vindhya range, right in the heart of the tribal belt of Madhya Bharat, stands an unseemly hill in front of which runs a rivulet called Bagni which though silent in the hottest parts of the year is quite a ferocious torrent in the rainy season. The little world around the hill consists of a few scattered hamlets of the semi-naked Bhils, who from times immemorial have been making their living by their bows and arrows hunting the wild beasts, when in dire need, and supplying the main labour power to the neighbouring towns of Bagh and Kukshi five to twelve miles away. As can be judged from its present situation, life about this hill must have been quite lonely and peaceful some 1500 years ago, when the world-weary Buddhist monks caused here to be excavated into its rocky surface about nine caves for purposes of their residence and meditation, and for holding religious discourses. With the lapse of fifteen centuries the caves succumbed to the influences of nature and man alike, so much that they had dwindled to mere-wreckages when about 40 years ago the Archaeological Department first came to their rescue though unfortunately rather too late. It seems they had been completely effaced from human memory during the intervening centuries after the extinction of Buddhism in Central India by the tenth century; for the simple folk of the surrounding region have been associating them with the heroes of the Great Epic—the Five Pandavas of the Mahabharata.

Architecture.—As has been said, the caves were excavated for the Buddhist monks for residence, meditation and for holding religious congregations. The excavations were made to fulfil this object and were planned accordingly. Of the nine caves only four (Nos. II to V) have been recovered in a somewhat tolerable condition, the rest being a mere hopeless jumble of ruins. Of the four better preserved caves No. II is planned with a large monastic hall in the centre surrounded by a number of small cells on three sides for the accommodation of the monks and an imposing pillared portico or porch in front. At the back side in the centre is a large recessed cell enshrining a Stupa which gave the main sanctuary to the inmates of the cave. The plan was thus meant to provide a self-contained monastery for the monks satisfying the normal needs of their secluded lives. The cells look somewhat gloomy and uncomfortable for dwelling purposes as they admit of little light and air inside, but to the monks they gave the much needed privacy and an atmosphere appropriate for sacred meditation. The central hall where the inmates assembled for prayers and discourses is provided with massive pillars decorated with spiral fluting. From the number of its cells it seems this cave was meant for a group of twenty monks.

The other three caves were more or less planned likewise except for certain minor modifications as visible in cave No. III. Cave No. IV was, however, planned on a larger scale offering residence for about 28 monks. Here the central hall is much bigger and spacious, with its huge columns in various designs making the interior most imposing and attractive. The doorframes of its entrances are further more exquisitely carved much after the doorframes of the structural temples of the Gupta period (4th to 6th centuries A. D.).

Sculpture.—From the view point of sculptural art there are very few examples obtained at Bagh, which represent in the main either the Buddha or the Bodhisattvas. They are larger than life-size and it seems were once covered with a thin layer of plaster and were probably painted as traces of lime are still seen on some of them. Artistically they can be conveniently relegated to the Gupta period. Sculptures of minor deities such as Nagas and Yakshas are also to be seen in the caves but

they have been so badly damaged that it is difficult to recognise them with certainty.

Painting.—But Bagh will for ever be remembered not merely for the architectural or sculptural details but more for the famished glory of an art of painting which has deserted its shadowy traces on the walls and ceilings of these caves. To a visitor they now seem to be a meaningless conglomeration of different colours, lines and curves, for so faded are their colours and disfigured their subject matters that unless he pauses, ponders over and dives deep into their significance with patience and imagination they will not appeal to him. It seems that all the available surface in these caves was plastered and painted over with a variety of decorative patterns and with a number of themes from social as well as religious life. But the process of decay had swept over them all relentlessly with the result that only fragmentary traces are now found here and there and those too mainly in cave No. IV to which local people have therefore more fittingly given the name of Rang Mahal. This Rang Mahal too had been smoke-screened by the burning embers of the kitchen-fires set by the recluses of later times who, in their supreme ignorance of the past, had little ground to know that 1500 years ago there existed a different order of religious fraternity using this very "Hall of Colours" for a more dignified purpose of life. Behind the smoke-screen, however, is still faintly visible traces of the beautiful scroll-work and a number of decorative friezes which once ran all along the face of the walls, as, also, vestiges of numerous decorative panels adorning its extensive ceiling and massive pillars and brackets. Though now in much shattered condition, it can yet be imagined that when the colours were fresh and the themes intact, vividly depicting a panorama of ancient life in all its diverse aspects, this "Palace of Colours", affording asylum to the world-weary monks, ceaselessly engaged in search of Ananda (eternal bliss), must have been endowed with more beauty and grace than what the simple folk of today have taken it to mean.

The exterior of this Rang Mahal had been more fortunate for, with an open space in front, the smokes had not settled upon the large array of scenes still somewhat better preserved on

the long wall of its verandah. These scenes though scarred at places even now exist to console us that after all we have not lost everything of that great cherishable art which we are proud to inherit. They cover a space of about 45 feet in length and 6 feet in height within which is depicted a variety of aspects of the ancient life, opening rather mysteriously with a scene of a lady in lament being probably vainly consoled by her lady friend. Who are these ladies, and what is the lamentation about, are questions we must leave to perpetual conjecture; though from what follows in the succeeding scenes of discourse, music and dance and the festive processions and from the general tone and tenets of the Buddhist faith we may be tempted to take it to signify that life with all its joys and festivities is full of utter misery for which there is no availng consolation or comfort! The next scene of discourse is laid out in a park or forest having amongst its four participants two princely or godly figures on one side and the rest much simpler, on the other, seriously engaged in a discussion over a topic, should we say, concerning the most touching aspect of life, *viz.*, sorrow?

The third scene breaks off into two groups, one above the other, the upper one consisting of six male figures issuing forth from the clouds and the lower one consisting of female musicians well dressed and ornamented with the figure in their centre playing on some instrument, a guitar or a flute. Who are these figures flying through the air and watching the gay musicians below? From their shaven heads and unornamented bodies should they be taken to be the Buddhist *arkats* who having attained completed bliss are here watching in a mood of blessing and sympathy the vain joy of the earthly musicians below?

The fourth scene likewise consists of musicians in two groups the first with seven females and a male dancer in the centre peculiarly attired, almost like a joker, and the second with six females, also arrayed round a male dancer with the locks of his hair hanging down and his expressions indicating much of sobriety and serenity as opposed to the hilarious gaiety of his counterpart in the first group. The females are variously dressed and ornamented and play severally on musical instruments like the tabor, cymbals, etc. thus presenting on the whole very colourful and picturesque dancing parties. There seems

to be some hidden meaning behind the contrasting modes of expression of the dancers in the two groups, brought so close to each other; the first is suggestive of unbridled joy and second of a feeling of majestic sublimeness—a contrast which can rarely be more effectively portrayed in colour.

The last two scenes moving over some 20 feet of space in length represent a pageant of two festive processions, one a splendid cavalcade of nobles, and the other a group of stately elephants with a royal personage and ladies riding on them. The horse-men are moving towards the left in five or six rows, the cavalier in the centre with a parasol held over his head, being apparently the chief of the party. The horses have here been shown with great feeling suggesting the noble character of the animals—a feature quite rare in Indian art. The elephant had however, always been a pet animal with the Indian artists. The elephant, in the forefront, here carries a personage evidently of royal rank as seen from his attendant carrying behind him a flywhisk (*chowrie*) and an umbrella. At the end of the procession are two rows of female figures also seated on elephants.

What do these processions signify? Who are these royal personages, and how they are related to the scenes previously depicted? These are questions which it is difficult to answer at present. Do they all convey some closely knit story or incident pertaining to some aspects of ancient Indian Life? There is no Buddhist legend or story with which they can be satisfactorily connected. As has been suggested already they may at best be interpreted to depict scenes from actual life with the simple object of exposing the vanity and misery underlying it.

But whatever be the purport of their themes these paintings are of supreme importance for the history of our art and culture. In the whole of India there are two places where such priceless art treasures have survived—the one which is here described and the other at the famous Ajanta in Hyderabad State. The paintings at Ajanta are almost contemporaneous with those at Bagh and the two represent a school which exerted a far reaching influence on the art, not of India alone, and on her colonies in the East, but on every country into which the religion of Buddha penetrated. For centuries these paintings had been

the fountain head and source of inspiration to almost half the art of Asia, and it has been said that they can very favourably compare with the best Europe could produce down to the time of Michelangelo.

2. Maheshwar

Mahishmati, on the site of which the present town of Maheshwar is said to be situated, was, according to legendary tradition, a capital of the famous king Kartavirya Arjuna of the Haihayas. Whatever be the truth behind this tradition it is certain, in the 6th century B. C., in the time of the Buddha, Mahishmati's fame as an important city and centre of trade was well established. With the emergence of Ujjain as a great city in subsequent times the importance of Mahishmati receded into back-ground though we do hear about the town as late as the 5th century A. D. in the Gupta times.

Sporadic references to Mahishmati occur in later days also but they do not indicate anything of importance about the town as in the past. The famous Chinese pilgrim visited Maheshvara-pura in A. D. 640 where he says a Brahmin king was then ruling. There is a story that Shankaracharya, the great *Vedanta* philosopher had his philosophical duel with the noted Mandana-mishra in this very town in which the latter was defeated whose name still survives in the name of the nearby town of Mandleshwar.

The Paramaras ruled over parts of Nimar including Maheshwar but they do not seem to have held the town in much importance. Maheshwar received some attention later in the time of Akbar when the fort was built and some of the temples on the river bank repaired.

The present importance of Maheshwar is, however, due almost exclusively to the famous Ahilyabai Holkar who, though her capital was at Indore, used to stay here all the year round since 1767. The stone-built *ghats* on the northern bank of the sacred river were largely her work. Her name is cherished all over India as one of the greatest women the country has seen. The living evidence of her charitable disposition and generosity is seen not only in the temples and *ghats* at the town of her

residence but all over the sacred places in India. The *abhatri* or cenotaph sanctifying her memory still stands beautifying the landscape of the river side. To the royal family of the Holkars of Indore it has ever since been a sacred spot around which the other cenotaphs were later raised in honour of their royal dead.

The architecture of these cenotaphs will not fail to impress a modern visitor, if he has seen the older Hindu temples. They are planned almost like these ancient temples with a porch in front, large pillared hall in centre and a recess with a loftier *shikhara* at the back for the image of the dead. The structures are faced with carvings and adorned with figure sculptures like the older temples. The art of carving and sculpture which, in the main, characterised the beauty and grace of the older edifices was almost dead in the time of Ahilyabai. The figure sculptures and carvings here may not be equally artistic and aesthetically appealing but still it was a creditable performance on the part of the builders of these *abhatri*s to attempt to revive an otherwise forgotten art and architectural tradition.

3. Un

On the northern fringe of the Satpura ranges in the plain of Nimar lies a township named Un which it appears was a flourishing place some 1000 years ago; for about a dozen temples lie clustering about it representing an architecture patronised by the Paramara kings of Malwa.

The temples are both Hindu and Jain and of the former the most important is what is locally called as Chaubara Dera in the town at a short distance from the road. Like most of the temples of the period it is planned with a large pillarcd hall in centre, the sacred shrine at the back, an elaborately carved porch in front and similar smaller porches at sides. Over the shrine, as usual, was an imposing and lofty spire (*shikhara*) which is now seen half gone in ruins exposing the inner core of the framework of the stone masonry for which no lime or cementing material was used. Over the central Mandapa the pyramidal roof is still seen somewhat half shattered. The exterior of the structure bears the usual carved facing though the ornamentation here is more subdued in tone. In the interior the most notable features

are the carvings and figure sculptures on the two doorframes, one offering entrance to the hall and the other to the shrine proper. A closer examination of the figures on them especially on the lintels above will indicate that the temple was built to be sacred to Shiva as the representation of Shiva and the Seven Mothers are seen in their centre; the Jain images in the hall obviously belong to some other contemporary shrine and were removed to here at a much later date.

At a short distance to north in the town is the temple of Makalaeshvara, the central hall of which has disappeared totally. The style of its *shikhara*, now much shattered, represents the style much more common with the Paramara temples adorned as it is with the clusters of miniature *shikhāras* on all its sides. North-west of this, outside the town, is the temple of Ballaleshvara, also sacred to Shiva, much smaller in proportions and with a later built dome over the shrine in place of the original *shikhāra*.

In the heart of the village stands another temple of Shiva called Nilakantheshevvar. Its imposing central hall is no more. The shikhara over the main shrine is in the common Paramara style. The doorframes bear beautiful carvings and figure sculptures representing the god Shiva, the Saptamatrikas and the other Hindu divinities. Close by is another temple of Shiva, called Gupteshvara because the shrine proper is now underground. The other parts of the original structure have disappeared already.

By a side of the road leading to Khargone is another temple of Shiva called Nilakantheshvara II. In style it differs little with the other Shaiva temples at Un and is equally in a much ruined condition.

Of the Jain temples at Un the most notable is the temple locally called as Chaubara Dera II. Its plan is like that of the Chaubera Dera No. I except that here there are no side porches. The *shikhāra* of this temple is unfortunately gone. The central hall is spacious having eight beautifully carved pillars to support the roof. The carvings here are also of a high order and the temple as a whole can be taken as a good specimen of the Paramara style of architecture.

At a short distance from this, across the road, is another Jain temple called Gwaleshvara temple. It is well preserved. In plan it is similar to the above temple. The level of the sanctum or shrine here is below that of the hall in front. Inside it are three well preserved Digambara Jain images standing in a row bearing short votive inscriptions on their pedestals datable to 13th century A. D.

4. Nemawar

In historical times Nemawar fell on the trade route from the north to the Deccan since it is mentioned as such by Albiruni in the early 11th century A. D. The village besides possesses one of the most beautiful temples not only in Madhya Bharat but in the whole of northern India. It is known by the name of Siddheshvar Mahadeva temple, sacred to the god Shiva and is now in a comparatively well preserved condition. The structure further forms an important land-mark in a beautiful natural landscape situated as it is on the northern bank facing the sacred river in front.

The structure was raised on a large stone-paved plinth with a retaining platform along the bank of the river to protect it from the fury of the floods of the stream. In plan it consists, as usual, of a shrine, surmounted by a lofty spire or *shikhara*, with a pillared hall or sabha-mandapa in front approached by three projecting porches. The pyramidal roofs of the hall and porches show evident signs of later repairs or additions to their pinnacles covered as they are with the unseemly coat of white lime plaster. The exterior of the main shrine below the *shikhara* is faced with numerous decorative carvings and figure sculptures, the latter representing Shivaganas, Bhairava, Shiva in his *tandava* dance or in other forms, Brahma, Brahmani, Mahishamarddini, etc.

It appears the main shrine with its *shikhara* was raised first the pillared hall and porches, now seen in its front, being added to it a century or so later. This is clear from the divergent styles of the carving and ornamentations of the two. The roof of the mandapa or hall is supported on massive pillars all covered over with decorative patterns and figure sculptures. Its ceiling is much more elaborately and profusely carved with beautiful

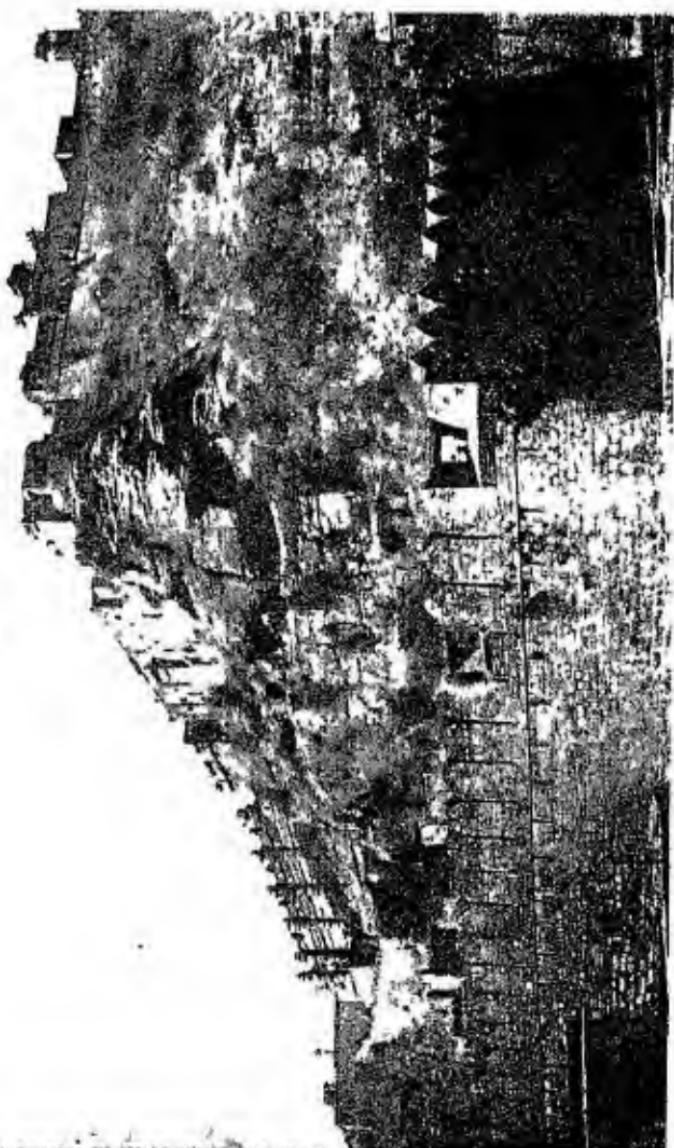
lotus designs and rows of brackets shaped to represent female figures standing in different poses. The exteriors of the hall and porches are also richly adorned with figure sculptures and other carvings. Of the figure sculptures those representing Brahma, Brahmani, Ganesha, Indrani, Chamunda, etc. can be recognised with certainty.

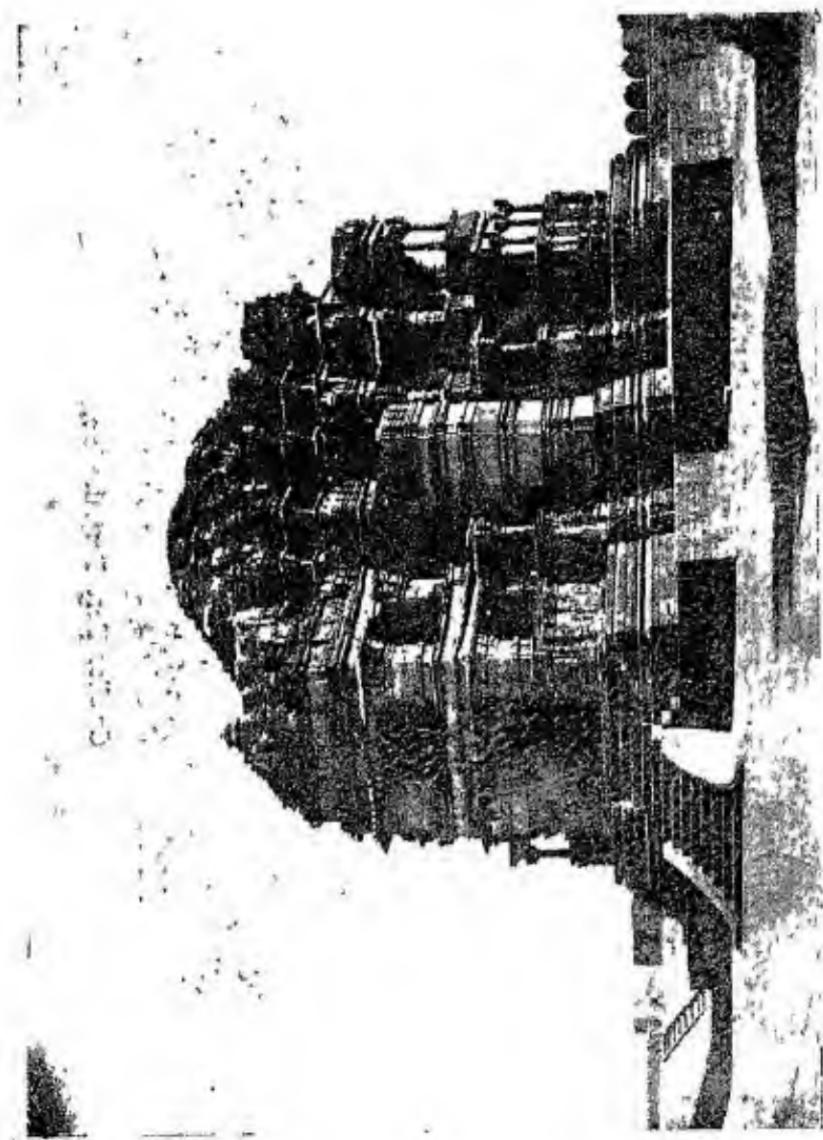
Artistically and architecturally the *shikhara* of the temple should be considered to be its most attractive feature. It closely resembles in style and execution the spire of the famous Nilakanthesvar Mahadeva temple at Udaypur in Bhilsa District. In both the spire is adorned with clusters of well arranged and proportioned miniatures of its own, a feature which is characteristic of most of the temples built under the Paramaras of Malwa in 11th or 12th centuries A. D. The temple here apparently belongs to this period and phase of temple architecture in Central India.

A little distance from here, to the north, on a high mound stands, what looks like, an unfinished temple. In plan it is now seen with a shrine only, the *shikhara* having been probably not raised at all. Its door frame and existing exterior are likewise found richly adorned with figure sculptures and carvings. Amongst the sculptures the predominance of Vaishnava figures would indicate that the structure was originally meant to be dedicated to that god.

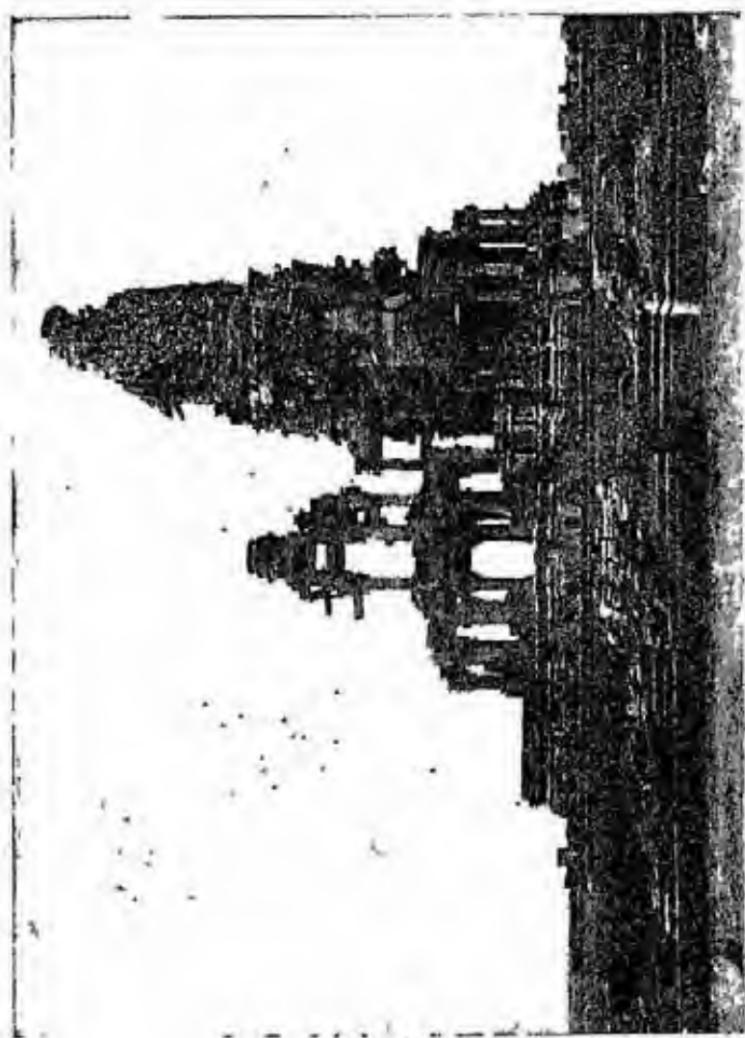
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Gwalior Fort Partial View.

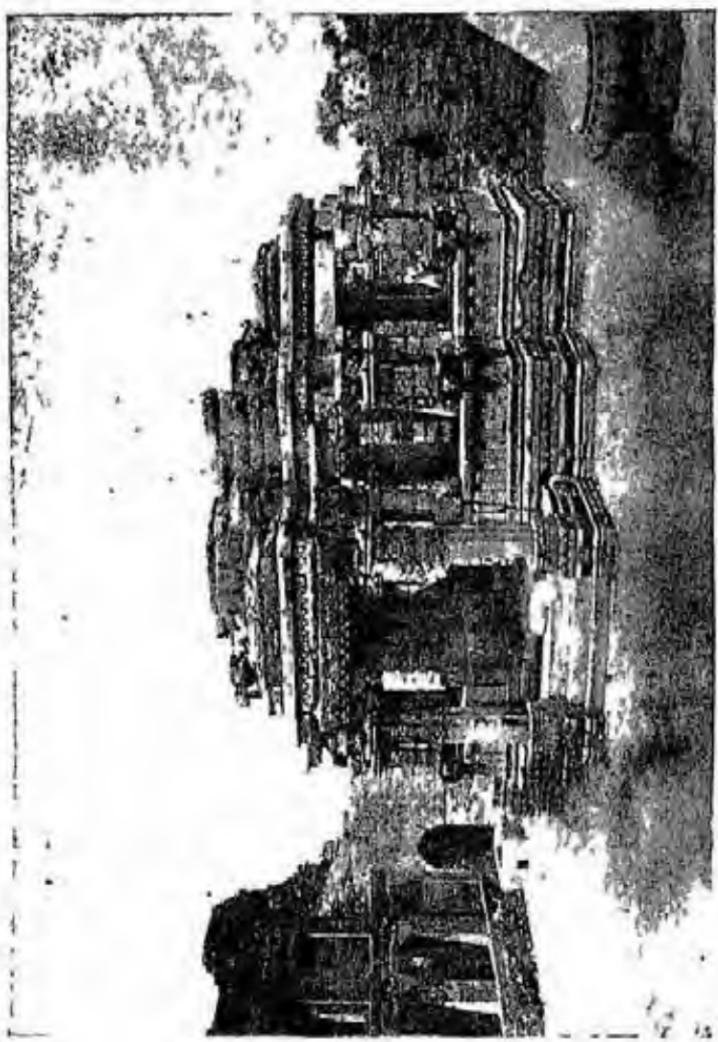




Larger Sas Bahu Temple, Gwalior Fort,



Kakan Madhi temple, Suhania.



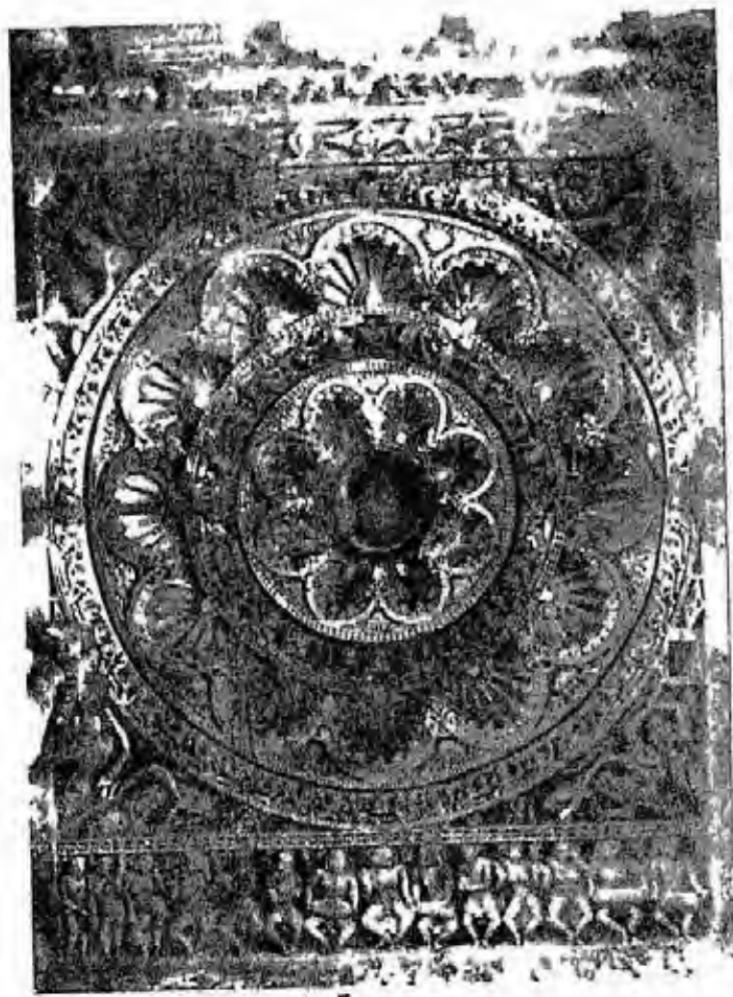
A Temple in Gadhi, Pachavali.



An excavated Brick Platform, Pawaya.



A lintel showing scene of dance from Pawaya.



Carved ceiling of a temple, Surwātā.



Mahadeva Temple, Kadwaha.



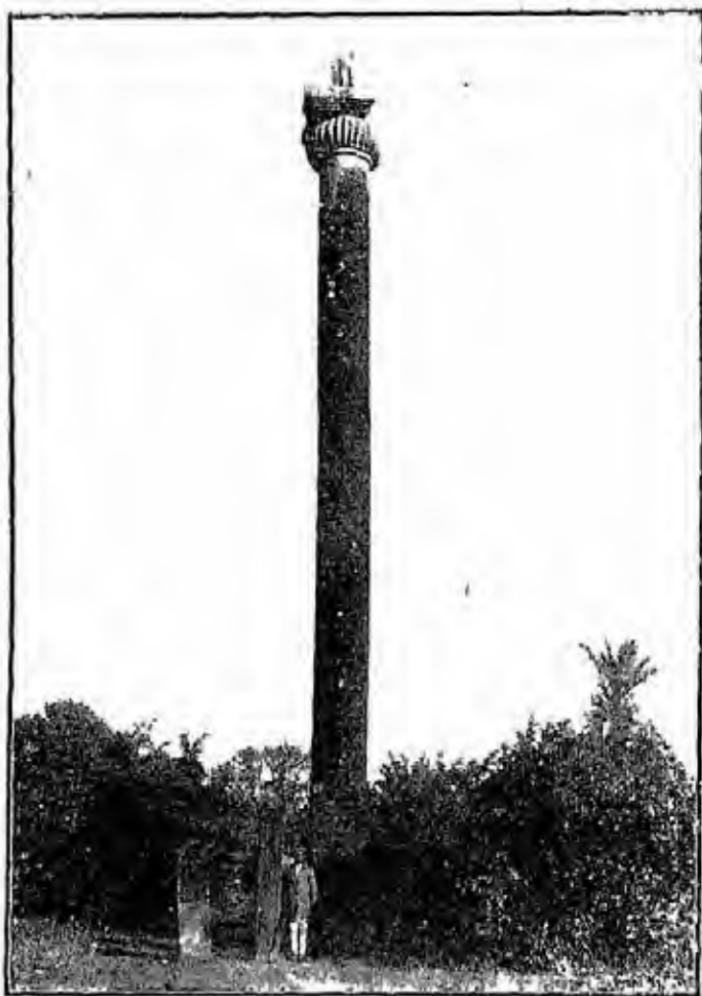
Hindola Torana Gateway, Gyaraspur.



Atha—Khamba, Gyaraspur.



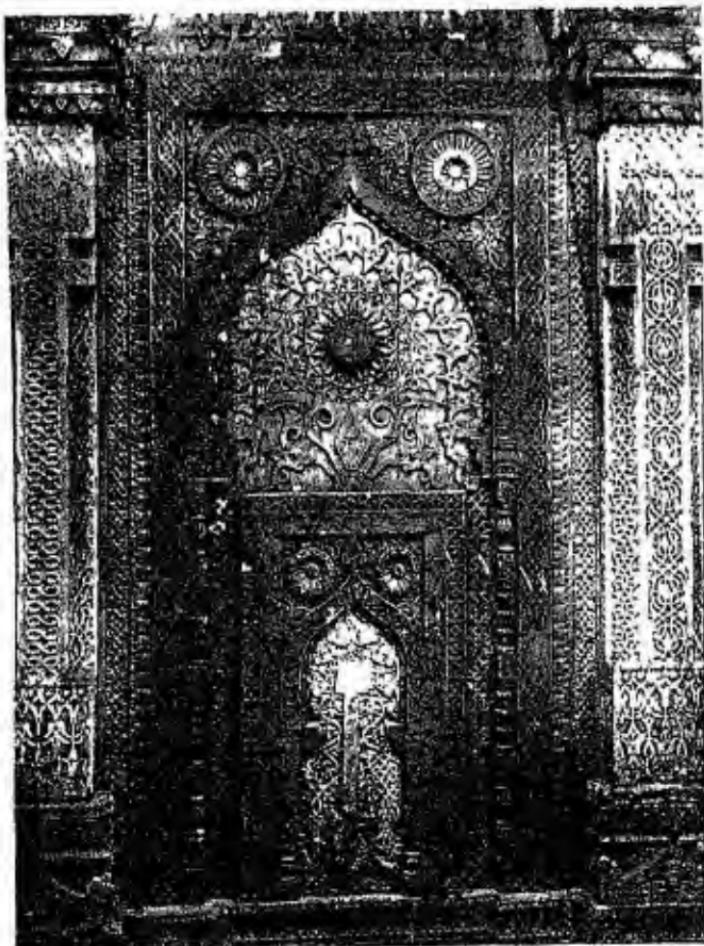
Ruins of Torana of Gadarmal Temple, Badoh.



A Monolithic Pillar, Pathari.

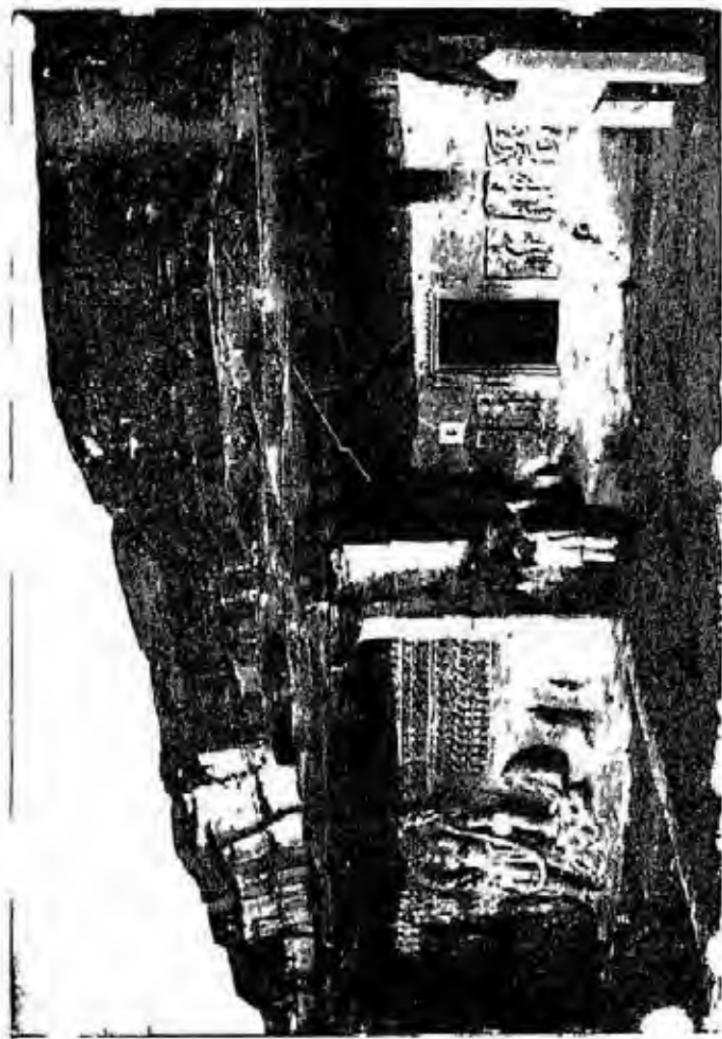


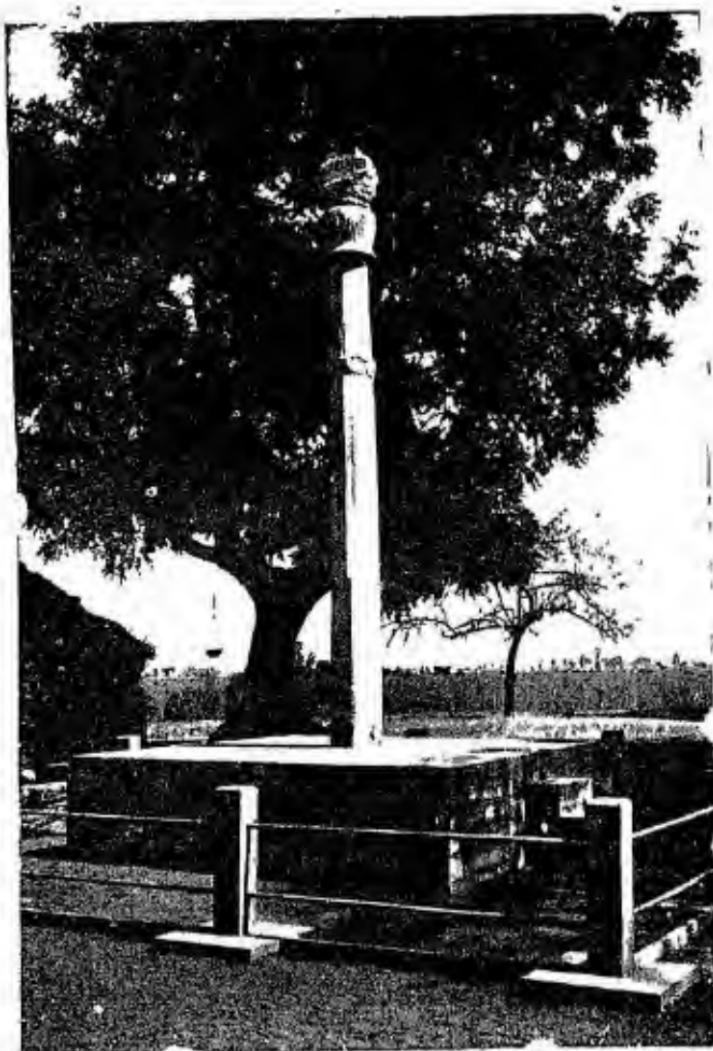
A Torana Gateway, Terabi.



A Carved Mihrab of a Muslim Tomb, Chanderi.

Caves Nos. 5 and 6, General View, Udaygiri.





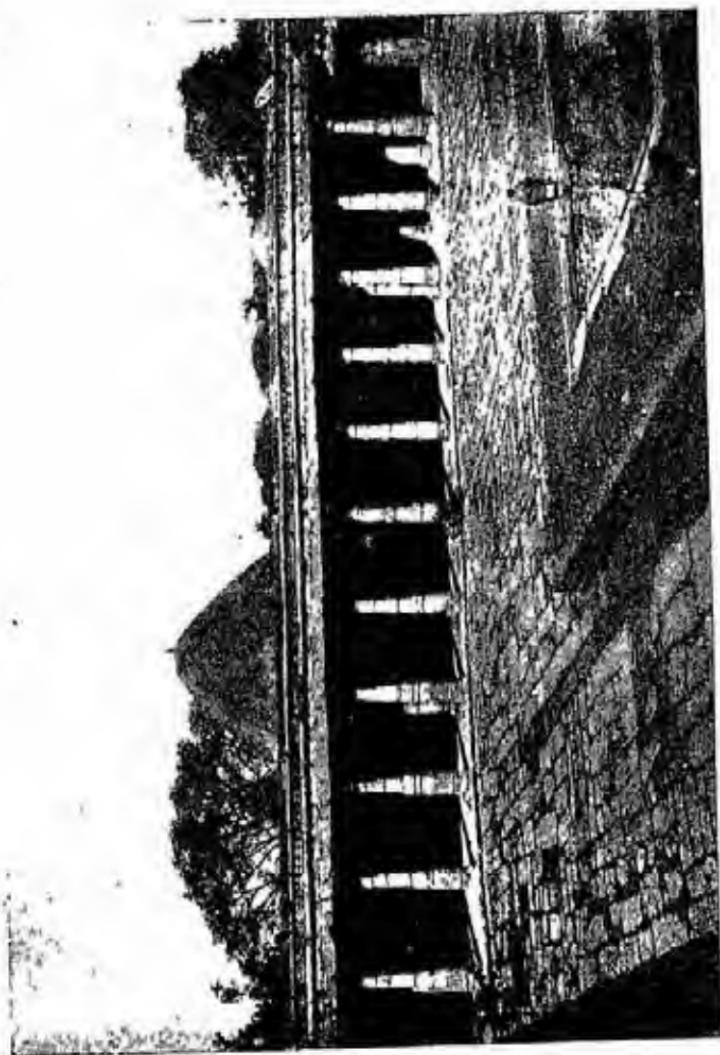
Heliodorus Pillar (Khamb-Baba), Besnagar.



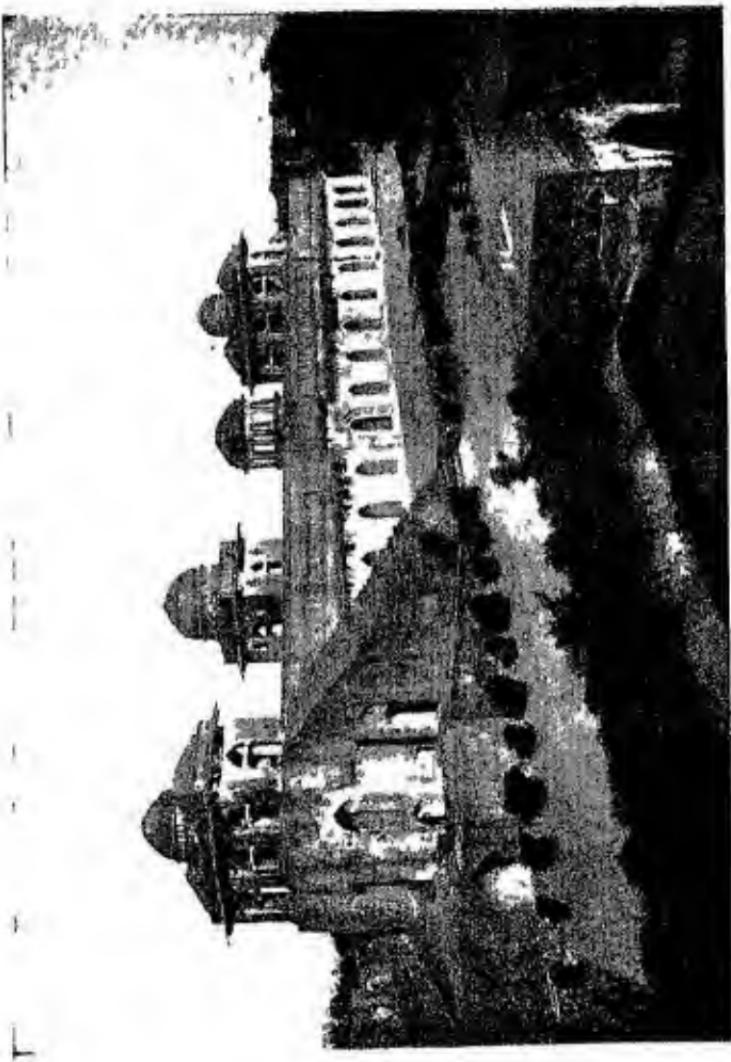
Nihkanthesvar Temple, Udaypur.



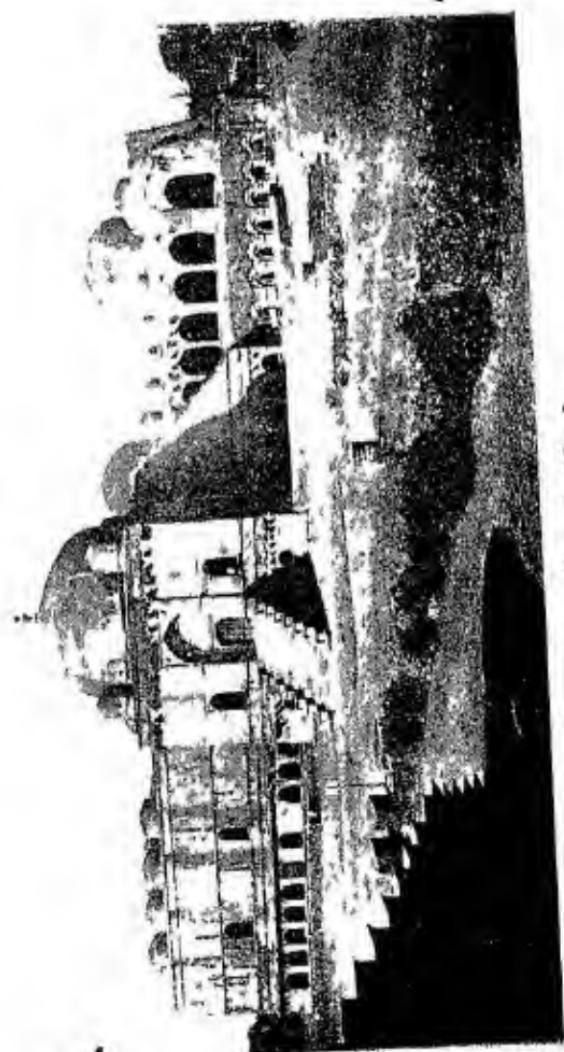
Mahakal Temple, Ujjain



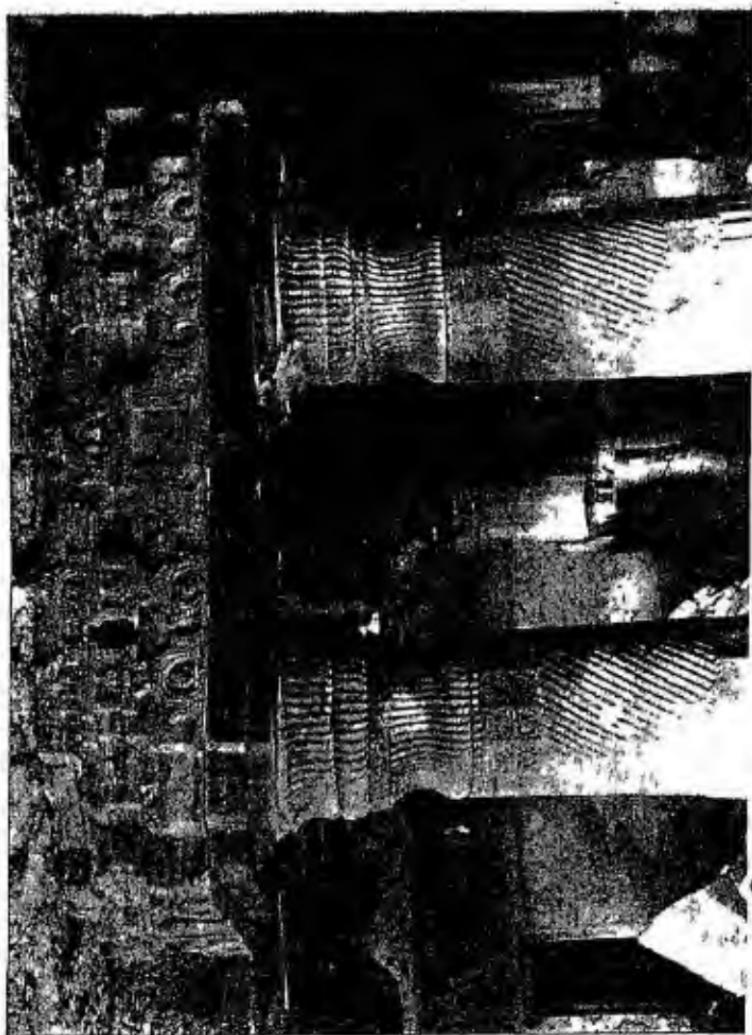
Bhoja Shala, Dhar.



Jahaz Mahal, Mandi.



Jama Masjid, Mandu.



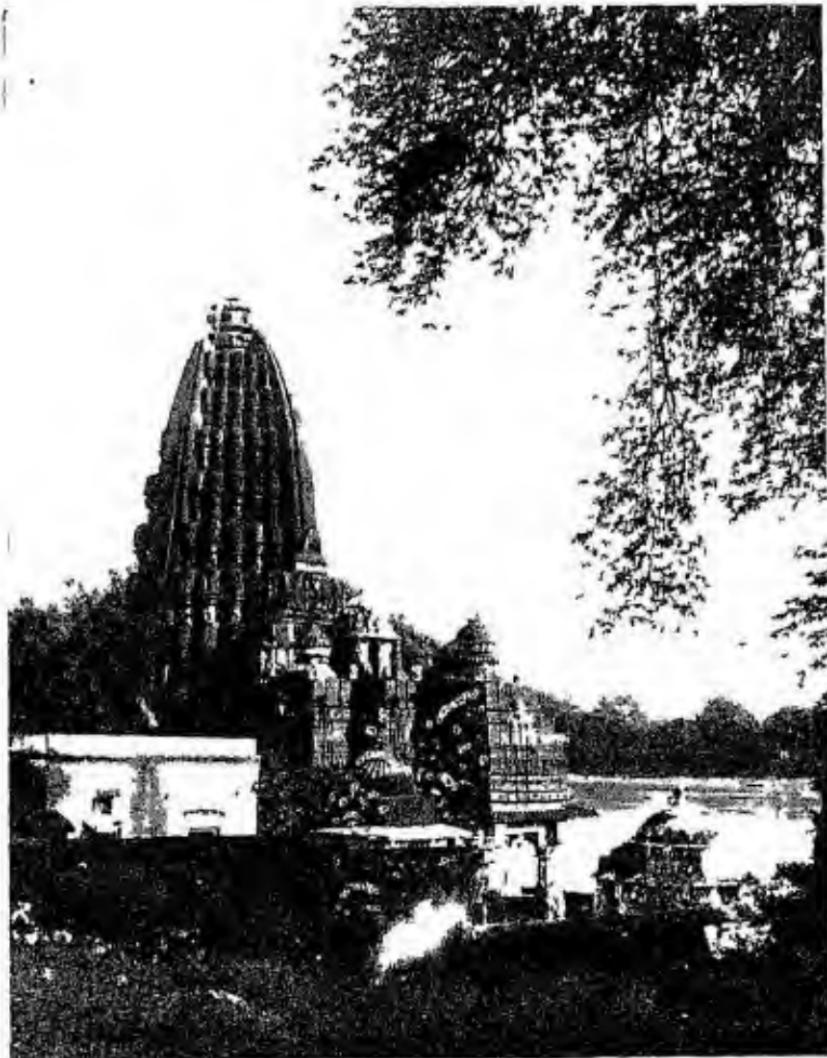
Interior Frieze, Cave No. 4, Bagh



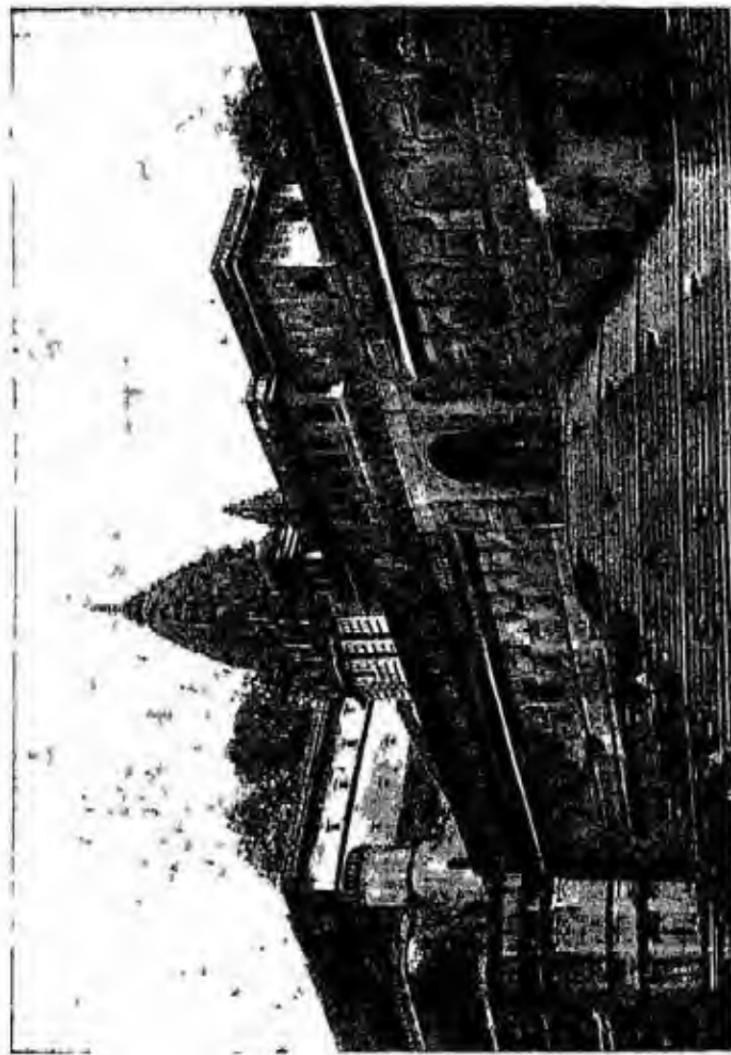
Two Bodhisattvas, Cave No. 4, (a Painting), Bagh.



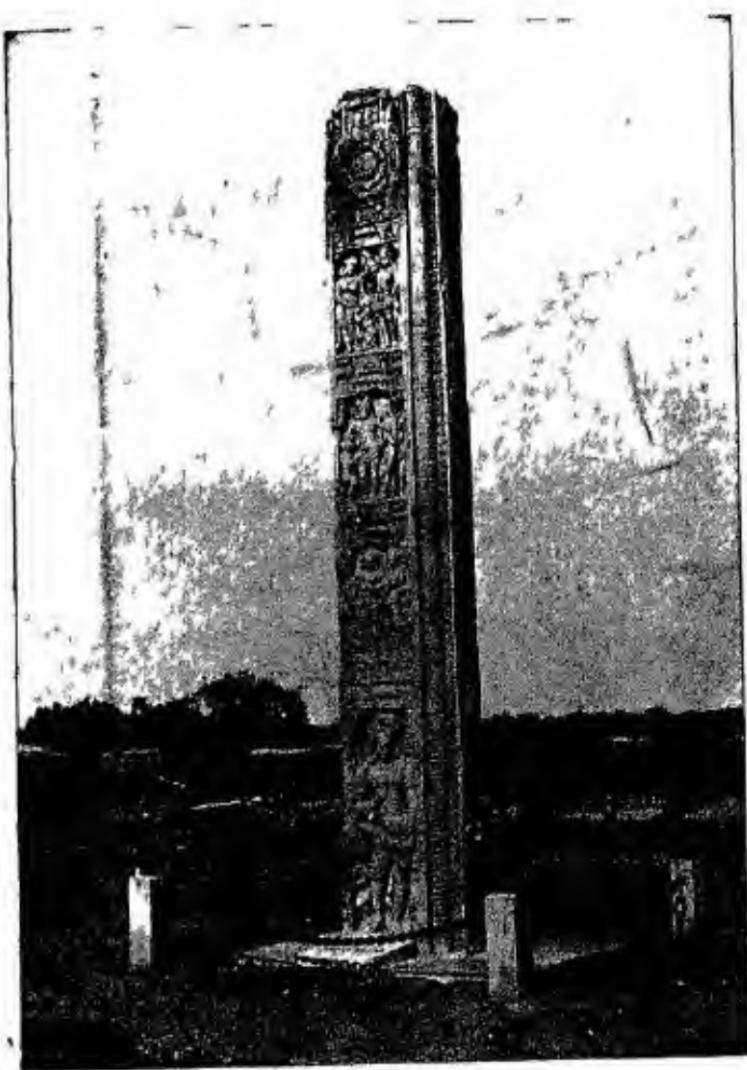
Mahadeva Temple, Jamli.



Siddheshwar Temple, Nemawar.



Chhatris of Shri Ahilyabai Holkar, Maheshwar.

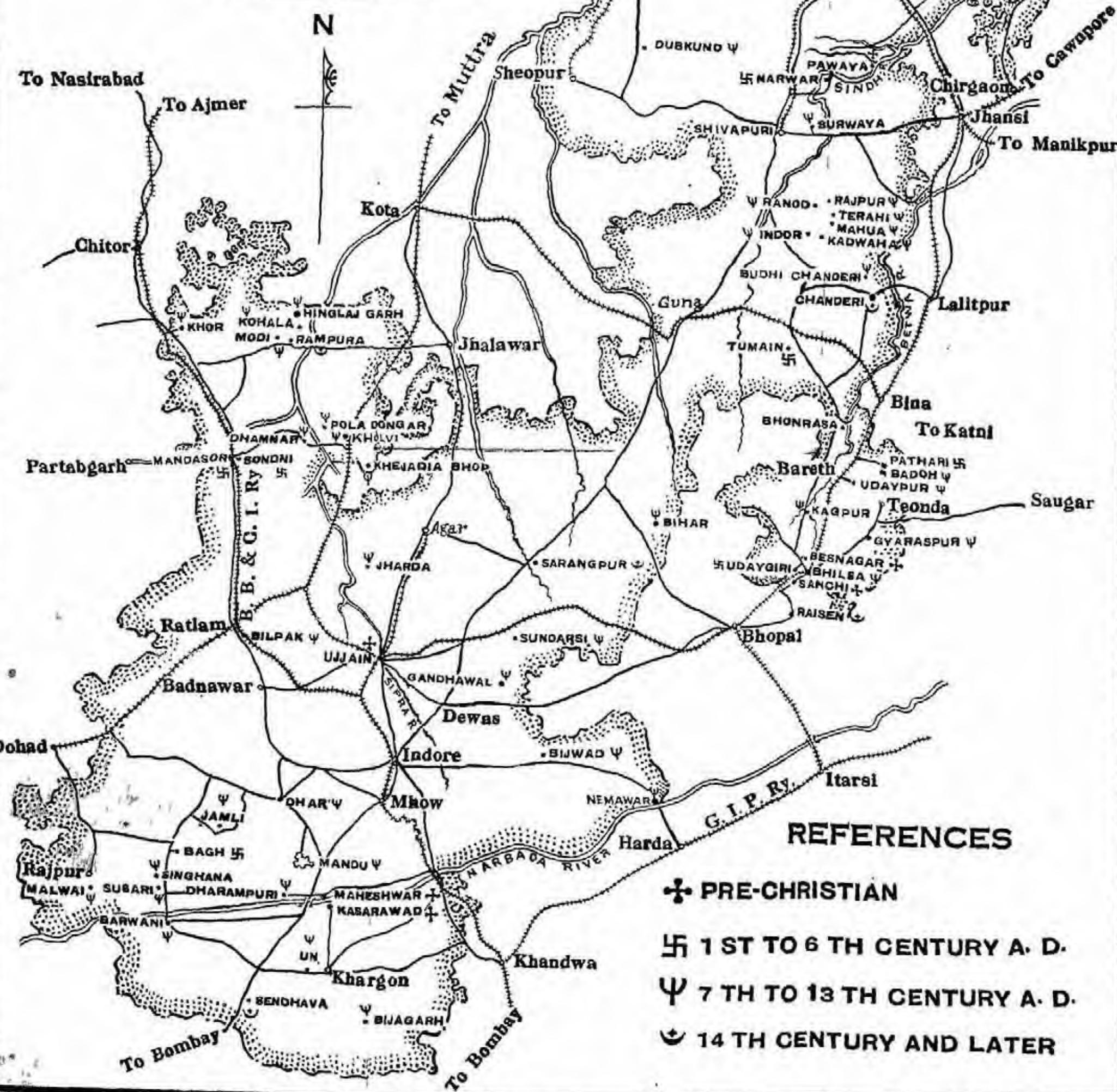


A Torana Pillar, Mandsaur



ARCHÆOLOGICAL MAP OF MADHYA BHARAT

SCALE
0 16 32 48 64 MILES.



REFERENCES

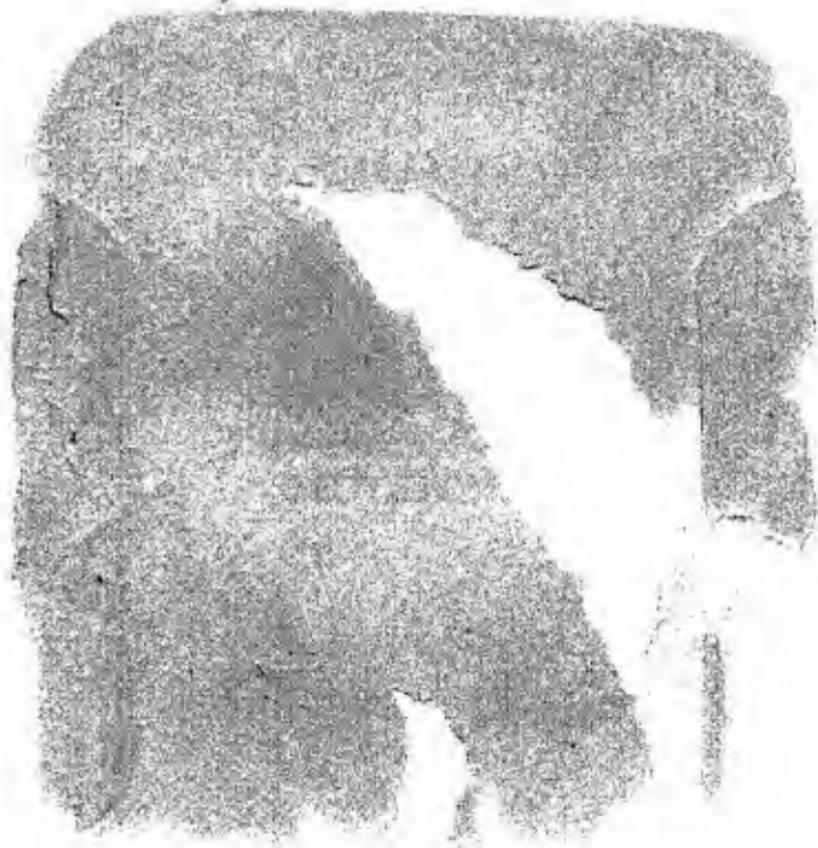
◆ PRE-CHRISTIAN

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